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HistoryToday

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Christopher Bayly,
1945-2015.

FROM THE EDITOR

THE SUDDEN, UNEXPECTED death in April of the distinguished historian Christopher Bayly, one of the pioneers of global history and a remarkable scholar of India in particular, came as a tremendous shock to those many who knew him, indeed anyone who had admired and absorbed his innovative, brilliant works. I had heard him lecture on a number of occasions and was lucky to meet him a couple of times, though I did not know him well, unlike his books, which I returned to again and again, as much for sheer pleasure as for their limitless insights. One person who did know him well was the British scholar David Armitage, Lloyd C. Blankfein Professor of History at Harvard, who offers this tribute to his colleague and friend:

'Only connect': the motto was E. M. Forster's but it could easily have been Chris Bayly's. Chris always joined what others had put asunder: town and country in his first book, the history of Allahabad in the 18th century; the century across the alleged 'colonial' divide in India in his classic Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars (1983); metropolitan Britain and its global empire in Imperial Meridian (1989); every part of the globe in his multi-dimensional masterpiece, The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914 (2004); and intellectual history and South Asian history in Recovering Liberties (2012), among his many scholarly achievements, unparalleled by any other historian of his generation. Above all, Chris connected people, through mentoring, collaboration and exchange, across regions and fields but most lastingly across generations. For him, there was no collegiality without conviviality. The 25 years I knew him seem like one long conversation, in seminar rooms and (especially) watering-holes from Sydney to Chicago and many points between. Two of my own books simply would not have existed without him; at least two others would have been greatly the poorer without his prodding and encouragement. I still can't speak of Chris in the past tense: the questions he asked, the books he leaves and the kindness he spread will all continue to inspire new connections across the world.

Bayly's pioneering, questioning, curious spirit lives on in his books – I urge those who have not read them to do so – and in the many students and fellow academics who are forever in his debt. The first historian to be knighted for 'services to history outside of Europe' will be greatly missed.

Paul Lay

HistoryMatters

Stolen Heritage • She-Wolves • Robert FitzRoy • Nimrud

Trafficking Culture

Archaeologists and criminologists are looking at ways to combat the illicit trade in antiquities.

Donna Yates

HERITAGE forms an important part of our identities. Archaeological sites and artefacts let us navigate an uncertain future by helping us to understand who we were and who we are. Confronted with the durability of the material remains of ancient lives, our own lives seem less ephemeral: the people of the past have left their mark and so shall we. The past is a powerful tool. Ancient sites house living tradition and culture. Communities threatened by conflict, disaster, globalisation and cultural loss draw strength from the past to rebuild their future. Archaeological tourism can bring much-needed income to developing countries. The educational opportunities offered by intact heritage sites inspire development in even the poorest locations. The past belongs to everyone and should be used as a force for collective good. But our culture is trickling away. It is looted, trafficked and sold to meet the insatiable international demand for cultural objects. Archaeological looting is a global problem and so far none of our proposed solutions has worked.

Many countries have enacted laws that make antiquities the collective property of the public. In these places, archaeological sites can only be excavated by trained professional researchers with proper permits. Artefacts – even those found by chance – must be registered with the authorities and often cannot be sold. Export of antiquities is strictly regulated and to



If these heads could talk: seized ancient statues in Pakistan, 2012.

take an artefact out of the country without a permit is considered smuggling. These governments are tasked with the investigation of archaeological sites, the preservation of historic places and the foundation of museums. In other words, they make sure that the past is available to the public and to future generations.

The past belongs to everyone and should be used as a force for collective good. But our culture is trickling away

Yet where there is demand, a supply will be found. Four idols robbed from a temple in India; six 200-year-old silver vessels taken from a Columbian church; a man in Guatemala caught trying to sell Maya artefacts on the Internet; illegal metal detecting at Hadrian's Wall and reports of antiq-

uities theft in Iraq and Syria. Buyers are willing to pay large amounts of money for the best antiquities and criminal networks traffic illegally sourced artefacts to feed this market. Antiquities become commodities: they are bought, sold and privately owned. Despite local laws and international agreements that say otherwise, the material remains of the past belong to whoever can afford to pay for them.

Inevitably buyers in wealthy countries can afford antiquities and those in poorer countries cannot and so cultural objects flow from the developing to the developed world in a steady stream. Once private buyers obtain an antiquity, they can choose to put it on public display or they can keep them to themselves. They can properly care for the antiquity, or they can smash it. There is nothing to stop them from doing so. In a very real sense, once an antiquity enters the private market, it is lost to us. ▶

Archaeologists do not simply study artefacts, we study everything above, below and around objects to reconstruct the story of when, how and why they came to be where they are. Context is what all archaeology is built upon; an artefact without context tells us very little. When an archaeological site is looted and destroyed and artefacts are smuggled and sold, their context is irrecoverable. Everything that the artefact could

Context is what archaeology is built upon – an artefact without context tells us very little

have told us is gone for good. Although illicit antiquities in museum cases and auction catalogues may be beautiful, they represent a massive loss to our collective heritage.

Today most of the antiquities available on the market are the product of some sort of criminal activity, be it illegal digging, smuggling or illicit sale. They represent the wilful destruction of the past purely for profit. Yet there is little international oversight of the antiquities trade and very few opportunities to disrupt antiquities-trafficking networks. We are at a point where we can predict that during any given conflict museums will be at risk from theft and archaeological sites will be looted, but there is little anyone can do but condemn the destruction. International actions are usually too little, too late.

I am trying to change this. In 2012 my colleagues and I at the University of Glasgow formed the Trafficking Culture Project, which is aimed at shedding light on some of the darkest corners of the illicit trade in antiquities. Based at the Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research, our team of archaeologists, criminologists and experts in law are applying criminological techniques to understanding this archaeological problem for the first time, with some interesting results.

We have defined statue trafficking in Cambodia as a form of organised crime and traced the transnational criminal networks that move these

stolen gods from temples to the market. We have analysed how the theft of centuries-old religious objects from Bolivian village churches contribute to community insecurity. We have explored how stolen antiquities from Greece and Rome are laundered through auction houses and have uncovered tax fraud schemes in the United States and Australia that involve respectable museums. We have compared aspects of the illicit trade in antiquities with the illicit trades in fossils, orchids and drugs to see if any comparative patterns emerge. This and more, in only three years. There is so much to do and, so far, we are just scratching the surface.

Ultimately our goal is to gather the information needed to preserve our heritage. We are trying to figure out what works and what does not so that lawmakers can make better heritage protection laws, so that stakeholders can improve site security and so that illicit antiquities buyers can be exposed. We want not just to condemn acts of heritage destruction, but also to prevent that destruction in the first place and to protect archaeological context by stopping looting before it starts. This is hard work, but someone has to do it or there will soon be nothing left.

Donna Yates is a Leverhulme Early Career Fellow in the Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research at the University of Glasgow.
<http://traffickingculture.org>

The She-Wolves of Jülich

Man-eating and menacing: stories about female werewolves in the sensationalist press expose a centuries-old fear of women.

Hannah Priest

THE 'HORRIFYING and never before heard' news of 300 female werewolves (lycanthropes), who terrorised the Duchy of Jülich after making a pact with the devil was published in a sensational broadsheet by Georg Kress in 1591 in Augsburg (now in Germany). These lycanthropic women attacked men, boys and cattle, adopting lupine form and slaughtering their victims until 85 of them were apprehended and burnt at the stake in Ostmilich on May 6th, 1591. A woodcut image depicting women and wolves – many of whom are committing wild acts of violence – accompanied a series of verses outlining the exploits of the She-Wolves of Jülich, which included cannibalism, infanticide and demonic communion. At the centre of the image two female figures are tied to the stake, the flames of an execution pyre licking their ankles.

Perhaps partly a response to the anxieties engendered by both the Inquisition and the Reformation, a growing taste for lurid and bloodthirsty 'news' encouraged publishers to churn out increasingly fantastical tales of diabolical individuals, causing a dramatic rise in such stories at the end of the 16th century. One of the best-known examples, from 1589, is the story of a peasant known as Stubbe Peter (also called Peter Stumpp, among other variations), the so-called 'Werewolf of Bedburg'. Peter's murderous career – which included, according to various accounts, drinking blood, eating brains, murdering children and pregnant women, entering into an incestuous relationship with his own daughter and having sexual intercourse with a succubus – was matched only by the brutality of his trial and execution, during which he was allegedly broken on a wheel, flayed, decapitated and burnt along with

Alternative Histories by Rob Murray





Wicked women and wolves: Georg Kress's woodcut of the *She-Wolves of Jülich*, Germany, 1591, coloured later.

his daughter and mistress.

However, outside populist reports little evidence of the man's existence has been found. No record of his birth survives and, more significantly, there are no records of his trial or execution.

If the story of Stubbe Peter is somewhat dubious, the tale of the Jülich she-wolves borders on absurd. The shocking figure of 300 women engaged in diabolical lycanthropy and the additional claim of a mass execution of 85 individuals surpasses even the more exaggerated claims about early modern werewolf trials.

No trial records survive and no record or name of any individual woman has been discovered. However, while Kress's account of the she-wolves cannot be corroborated, his broadsheet offers some tantalising suggestions about the perception and creation of early modern werewolves.

Kress's story of the *She-Wolves of Jülich* appeared a few years after the publication of the *Stubbe Peter* story and sets itself up as a more gruesome and horrific story of demonic lycanthropy. The cannibal peasant is replaced by a pack of ravenous women; where Peter confessed to 16 murders, the Jülich women confessed to 94. The women

particularly targeted tradesmen and butchers – killing livestock and horses as well as men – undermining the city's socio-economic stability as well as its morality.

It is tempting to read Kress's account as an attempt to outdo a fellow publisher, but the Jülich story is not simply an escalation of the *Stubbe Peter* narrative. Like a modern clickbait tabloid story, Kress's narrative belies its incredible headline. While we are promised a tale of 300 women, what we get in the verses is a confession by one woman. The claim that 85 women were put to death is never explained, as the text only tells us that the arrested woman implicated 24 others.

Moreover, though the story begins as a catalogue of horrendous crimes – including the devouring of male brains and hearts – it develops into a specific anecdote that owes as much to folk tales as it does to trial records. In the middle of a list of the Jülich women's crimes, the report breaks off to describe a group of children playing on farmland. The oldest child finds a belt, puts it on and is immediately transformed into a werewolf. The other children are terrified and call for their neighbours to attack the wolf. But the

young lycanthrope begs them not to hurt him; he explains that his mother changes into a wolf every night and runs in the forest with other werewolves. He tells the assembled mob that his mother also has a skin belt, which she puts on to effect her nightly transformation. The child's mother is duly arrested and she confesses to having received both the belt and the knowledge of transformation from the devil.

Thus, despite its claims of mass diabolical communion by a horde of murderous women, the story gradually focuses its attention on just one woman who is not simply an acolyte of the devil but also a terrible mother who has set an appalling example for her young son. From broader concerns about the susceptibility of women to Satanic delusion, the broadsheet finally reveals a concern with maternity and domesticity.

Interestingly, Kress's broadsheet claims an intended audience that is exclusively female – 'pious women and maidens' – to whom it should serve as a warning and example. The suggestion that even pious women need to be warned about demonic delusion underlines a theological assumption of women's susceptibility to the devil's wiles, but it also draws a distinction between the 'good' female reader and the 'bad' female werewolf. It would be another 250 years before the female werewolf entered fiction – in Frederick Marryat's 1839 *The Phantom Ship* – but when she did, she was immediately figured in similar terms of dichotomous femininity to those hinted at in Kress's broadsheet.

From Henry Beaugrand's 'The Werewolves' to *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, the female werewolf in contemporary popular culture frequently serves as a visceral and physical manifestation of a 'bad girl': disruptive, hypersexual and homicidal. While Georg Kress's broadsheet might lack historical veracity or corroborating evidence, it is a fascinating early example of a werewolf image that is now firmly established in the 21st-century imagination: the female werewolf is not just wild, she is a man-eater.

Hannah Priest is the editor of *She-Wolf: A Cultural History of Female Werewolves* (Manchester University Press, 2015).

The female werewolf in contemporary popular culture is a visceral and physical manifestation of a 'bad girl'

The Master Commander

The charismatic yet tragic life of Darwin's captain.

Peter Moore

ROBERT FITZROY, the superb sailor and founding father of the Met Office, died 150 years ago. He is often remembered merely as Charles Darwin's taciturn, Tory captain on HMS *Beagle*. Jon Amiel's 2009 film *Creation* encapsulates this view – it pictures him bedecked in his naval uniform, his great cocked hat arching into a grim South American sky as he struts along a wind-blasted beach in Tierra del Fuego.

The significance of the *Beagle*'s second voyage, realised with the publication of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* in 1859, ensures that this is the FitzRoy that we are left with. He is the man who sailed Darwin around the world, as the young naturalist formulated his paradigm-shattering ideas about the past. But this vision obscures the richness and importance of FitzRoy's life beyond the *Beagle*. He was also a politician, a governor, a scientist and a civil servant who counted as friends not just Darwin but also Sir Francis Beaufort, Sir John Herschel and the chemist John Hall Gladstone.

Robert FitzRoy was born in 1805 into a family with a potent pedigree: he could trace his ancestry back to Charles II. It was thought, though, that the young Robert inherited his dark, handsome appearance and 'highly courteous manners' from his mother's side of the family, reminding those who met him of her famous half-brother, Lord Castlereagh.

This comparison haunted FitzRoy after Castlereagh's suicide in 1822. Like Castlereagh, FitzRoy's character was sharply split. He was the young buck, appointed commander of the *Beagle* at 23, who had gone on to lead his crew with style, courage and skill on two dangerous voyages. But he was also a fractious character with a secretive core. His viscerating, flaring temper was well known on the foredeck, as was the troubling reality that, while he was able to withstand so much, black depressions could overrun him at an instant. FitzRoy



**An ill wind blows:
Robert FitzRoy,
early-mid 1860s.**

openly fretted that he had inherited the same bad blood that had brought down Castlereagh. Shortly after meeting FitzRoy in 1832, Darwin wrote to his sister from Rio. 'He is a very extraordinary person', he asserted. 'I never before came across a man whom I could fancy being a Napoleon or a Nelson.'

Yet all seemed well for FitzRoy on his return from his circumnavigation. By the time Queen Victoria ascended the

'He is a very extraordinary person', Darwin asserted. 'I never before came across a man whom I could fancy being a Napoleon or a Nelson'

throne he was installed at an upmarket west London address and was a man of note in the newspapers. Elected the Tory MP for Durham, a position in Peel's Cabinet beckoned, which might have materialised had he not been dispatched to New Zealand as governor in 1843. But accepting the post turned out to be a terrible mistake. One journalist later wrote, 'A more thorny path he could hardly have chosen.' FitzRoy sailed around half the world to find the infant

colony near bankruptcy and torn in two by a bitter conflict between the Maori tribes and western settlers. All he tried backfired and, judged a failure, he was recalled to Britain after just two years.

Arriving back in London, FitzRoy found himself in an uncomfortable position. His political career had been curbed by the New Zealand fiasco, much of his private fortune had been spent during the *Beagle* voyage and younger captains had filled his place in the navy. Spells followed superintending Woolwich Dockyard and launching the navy's first screw-driven vessel, HMS *Arrogant*. Against the advice of Darwin he took *Arrogant* on her maiden voyage where, off Lisbon, he was gripped by another depressive episode. In a fatal move he resigned his position and returned home. A domestic tragedy followed in 1852 when Mary, his 'beautiful and religious' wife, died suddenly, the effect of which was profound and lasting.

FitzRoy emerged from a period of despair with an extraordinary new venture, founding the Meteorological Department, now known as the Met Office. Originally conceived as a chart depot to cut sailing times, FitzRoy re-invented it as a weather prediction office, offering warnings of bad weather for sailors at sea. Soon he was 'forecasting' – FitzRoy's own term – coming weather in *The Times*. It was a controversial project and by the 1860s it had made him a national celebrity. *Punch* christened him 'The First Admiral of the Blew' and 'The Clerk of the Weather'; his telegraphed forecasts a colourful quirk of this new Victorian world.

FitzRoy's meteorological project ensured his name was always in the papers, as much perhaps as Darwin's, but the pressure of predicting coming weather began to tell. He had to contend with a hostile press and a nervous scientific community. By 1865 his health was failing and he was forced to move to Norwood for a period of rest. On Sunday, April 30th, he rose for church and kissed Laura, his daughter, as he walked to his dressing room. Then he turned the key in the lock, picked up his razor and cut his throat.

Peter Moore is the author of *The Weather Experiment: the Pioneers Who Sought to See the Future* (Chatto & Windus, 2015).

The Rise and Fall of Nimrud

Before its untimely end this once great city was the centre of a vast and powerful civilisation.

Mark Ronan

WHEN THE Islamist terror group ISIS used hammer blows, bulldozing and explosions to destroy the ancient city of Nimrud in March this year, they wiped out a relic of Iraq's glorious past.

Nimrud (known in ancient times as Kalhu) was once a major city and briefly the capital of the great Assyrian state that collapsed in the late seventh century BC. Its ruins, first excavated in the mid-19th century and then in much greater detail in the 20th century, are dated to the second millennium BC, although the city's role within the broad sweep of Mesopotamian history takes us back to nearly 2000 BC, when a separate Assyrian state emerged.

The word Assyrian comes from the city of Ashur on the west bank of the Tigris about 300 km north of Baghdad and 100 km south of Mosul. In the early second millennium BC it became an important *entrepôt*, whose great trading houses and their colonies in central Anatolia organised trade that sent copper and tin – the constituents of bronze – in one direction and finished textiles in the other. As a city state it gave allegiance to no one and was ruled by a vicegerent on behalf of the god Ashur.

Then in the mid-18th century BC Babylon suddenly arose to prominence and Assyria went into decline, only emerging from the shadows in the 14th century under a bold king named Ashur-uballit (1365–30 BC). At the start of his reign the major players in the Near East were Egypt, Babylonia and the Hittite Empire and in his unsolicited greeting-gift to the Egyptian king (a chariot and pair of horses, plus a choice stone of lapis lazuli) Ashur-uballit dared not address him as an equal.

By the time of his next letter to Egypt, military success had emboldened him and he demanded substantial return gifts. He married one of his daughters to a prince of Babylon and when his grandson, as king of Babylonia, was assassinated in favour of another claimant, an aged Ashur-uballit immediately attacked the city, executed the usurper and placed his own choice on the throne.

Having made Assyria one of the great powers in the Near East with Ashur as its capital, he was succeeded by a series of some dozen kings who expanded the state and created regional administrative centres including Kalhu (Nimrud), built, or at least rebuilt, by Shalmaneser I (1274–45). Assyria remained a powerful state, even when Mediterranean lands were attacked in about 1200 BC by the 'Sea Peoples' (including Philistines and Arameans), but the Arameans caused

Only relics survive: wall relief from the throne room of Ashurnasirpal II. Neo-Assyrian, 865–60 BC.



increasing trouble and, after the reign of a powerful king, Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076), the Middle Assyrian period came to an end.

The Neo-Assyrian period started in 934 BC when a succession of three strong kings re-asserted Assyrian control, using the spoils of war for great new building works and the consolidation of state power. This set the stage for an immensely powerful king, Ashurnasirpal II (883–59), who mounted far-reaching campaigns northwards and to the west,

where he ceremonially washed his weapons in the Mediterranean.

He transferred the capital from the ancient city of Ashur to Kalhu and his victorious rule brought great wealth that he ploughed into this massively rebuilt city, where the surviving carvings, by craftsmen imported from abroad, show a quality far outshining anything produced under his predecessors. The construction and decoration of the magnificent palace and temples is described in detail on the 'banquet stele', a sandstone block bearing a 154-line inscription and an image of the king. The inscription also describes herds of wild and exotic animals, the digging of a canal to supply the city with orchards and the palace gardens with fragrant plants and fruit-bearing trees:

The canal cascades from above into the gardens. Fragrance pervades the walkways. Streams of water [numerous] as the stars of heaven flow in the pleasure garden.

To cap it all the text gives a long and detailed list of the food provided at a banquet thrown to celebrate the opening of the palace, at which numerous guests feasted for ten days:

I gave them food, I gave them drink, I had them bathed and anointed. [Thus] did I honour them.

It was during Ashurnasirpal's reign that magnificent narrative reliefs began to appear – kings and gods and colossal statues of human-headed winged bulls, inscribed with cuneiform writing – portraying the ever-increasing power of Assyria which over the next quarter-millennium turned into one of the greatest empires the world had ever seen.

Towards the end of the seventh century BC, Assyria collapsed. Babylon took over before being conquered by the emerging Persian Empire in the mid-sixth century, which in turn fell to Alexander the Great two centuries later.

Empires rise and fall, and ISIS, who want to found a new one – a Caliphate embracing the Islamic world – will surely fail. In the meantime, the remains of Nimrud leave a hole in history, vandalised for the sake of nothing.

Mark Ronan is Honorary Professor of Mathematics at University College London.

MonthsPast JUNE

By Richard Cavendish

JUNE 1ST 1215

Genghis Khan takes Beijing

History's greatest conqueror emerged from obscurity in 12th-century Mongolia, when the steppes north of the Great Wall of China were occupied by tribes and clans entangled in constantly shifting alliances, rivalries and disputes. Fierce warriors, the Mongols claimed to be descended from the Huns (Hun being the Mongol word for human being). The Jurcheds, who ruled northern China and Manchuria, deliberately fomented quarrels among the Mongols and the other tribes north of the Great Wall to stop them from being a nuisance.

A boy called Temujin was born around 1162 to Yesugei, the khan or leader of a minor Mongol clan, the Borijin. The name Temujin seems to have come from a Mongol word meaning 'headstrong' and 'inspired' and it suited him and perhaps helped to inspire him. His father, Yesugei, was poisoned when Temujin was still a boy. Temujin developed into an overwhelmingly commanding personality with a genius for warfare, which he employed to bring the other Mongol groups under his control. Starting by stalking and killing his elder half-brother, he took command of his clan and went on over many years to kill leading figures in rival groups and threaten or win others into his service. By his mid-forties in 1206 he was acknowledged by the admiring peoples of the steppes as Genghis Khan (Chinggis Khan, or 'unshakeable ruler').

In 1210 envoys from the Jurched capital of Zhongdu (later Peking and now Beijing) arrived in Mongolia announcing the accession of a new Golden Khan, as their ruler was called, and demanding that Genghis Khan and the Mongols formally accept his suzerainty. Genghis spat contemptuously on the ground, treated the envoys to a volley of insults at the Golden Khan and rode away. He summoned a meeting of his tribespeople – men, women and children



Horse power: Genghis Khan in battle. Illustration from a chronicle by Rashid al-Din, 14th century.

– to consider the situation. Once he felt certain they were with him, he went up to the top of a nearby mountain where he bowed down to the Eternal Blue Sky and informed it that he and his people had not looked to fight the Jurcheds, but were being forced into war by them. On the fourth day he came down and told the people what he had done and that the Eternal Sky had promised them victory and revenge.

Secure in his people's support, Genghis led a succession of campaigns. Mongol armies travelled and fought on horseback and took huge numbers of reserve horses with them. They had no supply train to delay them, could survive on little food and lived off the land, pillaging as they went and eating some of their horses if they needed to.

In his *Genghis Khan and the Making of the Modern World* (2004) Jack Weatherford said that Genghis Khan 'had lit a conflagration that would eventually consume the world'. After repeated campaigns, by 1213 the Mongols had overrun all the Jurched territory north of the Great Wall. Genghis Khan now broke through the Wall and attacked northern China, which his forces ravaged and plundered. In the spring of 1214 they descended on the Jurched capital at Zhongdu. There had been a coup there and the newly installed Golden Khan did not feel secure enough to face a

prolonged siege. He offered substantial rewards if the Mongols would withdraw, including enormous quantities of gold, silver and silk, as well as thousands of horses. He gave Genghis Khan a Jurched princess as a wife and acknowledged the Mongol chieftain as his overlord.

Satisfied, Genghis Khan left to return to Mongolia, leaving the Jurched regime to continue in China and pay him tribute as their overlord, but the Golden Khan soon broke the agreement. He abandoned Zhongdu and moved his court to the city of Kaifeng, far to the south. Genghis Khan was infuriated at what he considered a betrayal. In 1215 he marched back to Zhongdu. Many of its people also felt betrayed by the Golden Khan and the Mongol siege starved the city into submission. Genghis Khan went back to Mongolia, leaving his subordinates to sack Zhongdu, which they did with enthusiastic thoroughness and zeal.

In his last years Genghis Khan extended his sway over northern China, invaded Afghanistan and pressed on into Georgia, Russia and northern Persia. Cities were taken and populations ruthlessly massacred. When Genghis Khan died in his sixties in 1227, of fever after a bad fall from his horse, his empire stretched from the Pacific to the Black Sea and covered an area larger than the Roman Empire at its height. His descendants would make it bigger still.

JUNE 1st 1815

James Gillray dies in London

The master of witty, if often viciously corrosive, comedy art came from a modest background in Chelsea – then a village outside London. His father was the sexton of a local cemetery. Young James showed an interest in art early on and got a grounding as an apprentice to an engraver turning out stationery, trade cards, certificates and maps. In his early twenties in 1778 he was admitted to the Royal Academy Schools and in the 1780s he began producing caricatures, including sardonic scenes of prominent personages. They were enlivened with amusing speech bubbles and captions. He was particularly hard on George III and Queen Caroline, while other frequent victims included the Prince Regent and Charles James Fox. When the Napoleonic Wars began, Gillray patriotically eased off on George, turned his evil eye on Napoleon and the French instead and lauded John Bull.

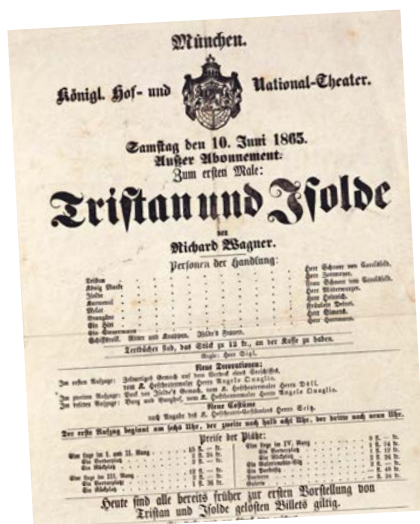


The English high art world mostly looked down on Gillray, but his work, sold in the form of prints, was popular enough to earn him an adequate living. He kept his private life extremely private, but from 1791 his prints were sold exclusively by Hannah Humphrey in Old Bond Street and he soon moved in with her above her shop. When she moved to St James's Street, off Piccadilly, in 1798, Gillray went with her and stayed there for the rest of his life. She was unmarried and some 15 to 20 years older than him. Exactly what the relationship between them was

The observer observed: self-portrait by James Gillray.

nobody now knows, but there was certainly a deep mutual affection and at one point, apparently, they decided to get married. When they arrived at the nearby church of St James's in Piccadilly, however, he changed his mind and told her they should leave well alone, so they went back home.

When he was about 50, something went badly wrong with Gillray's eyesight. He tried wearing spectacles, but they were no help and he became unable to produce work of what he considered the proper quality. In 1808 he had a physical and mental breakdown and went to Margate to convalesce, but he remained miserably depressed and signed his last print the following year. He was drinking extremely heavily and, in 1811, tried to commit suicide by throwing himself out of a top-floor window of the house in St James's Street. He survived, but was now intermittently insane and the faithful Hannah had to look after him until he died at the age of 58. He was buried nearby in the courtyard of St James's Church. His will left her everything he had and she died three years later, in 1818.



JUNE 10th 1865

The premiere of *Tristan und Isolde*

Gesamtkunstwerk: playbill for *Tristan und Isolde* at the National Theatre, Munich.

The story of Tristan and Yseult is an ancient Celtic legend, which was taken up by medieval European writers. Tristan is the nephew, heir and finest warrior of King Mark of Cornwall. Mark marries a beautiful Irish princess, Yseult the Fair. Tristan and Yseult fall tempestuously in love, with tragic consequences for themselves and everyone involved. The story is about the overwhelming and annihilatingly destructive force of passionate love, which sweeps people away with it and carries them to heights of rapture while forcing them to break every tie of loyalty, duty and affection to others.

In the 1850s Richard Wagner was living in Switzerland in an uneasy relationship with his wife, Minna, and working on his *Ring* cycle of operas when he fell passionately in love with a married woman, Mathilde Wesendonck. He also began reading the philosopher Schopenhauer, who would profoundly influence him for the rest of his life. In the grip of both passions he put the

Ring cycle aside to work on the Tristan story, basing his libretto on the medieval German version by Gottfried von Strassburg. It took him years to create a colossal music drama that eventually ran to five hours, completed in 1859.

The opera would be forbiddingly expensive to stage and the score was so innovative that it was widely considered unperformable. It was not until King Ludwig of Bavaria came to the rescue that it had its premiere in Munich in 1865, conducted by Hans von Bülow (with whose wife, Cosima, Wagner was now having an intense affair). The audience found the music weird and the next stagings did not occur until 1874 and 1876 in Weimar and Berlin, while the British and US premieres were not until the 1880s. It took the music world time to recognise the force and beauty of Wagner's score. The love scenes are unmatched for sheer erotic intensity and the opera has long been regarded as a milestone in the history of music.

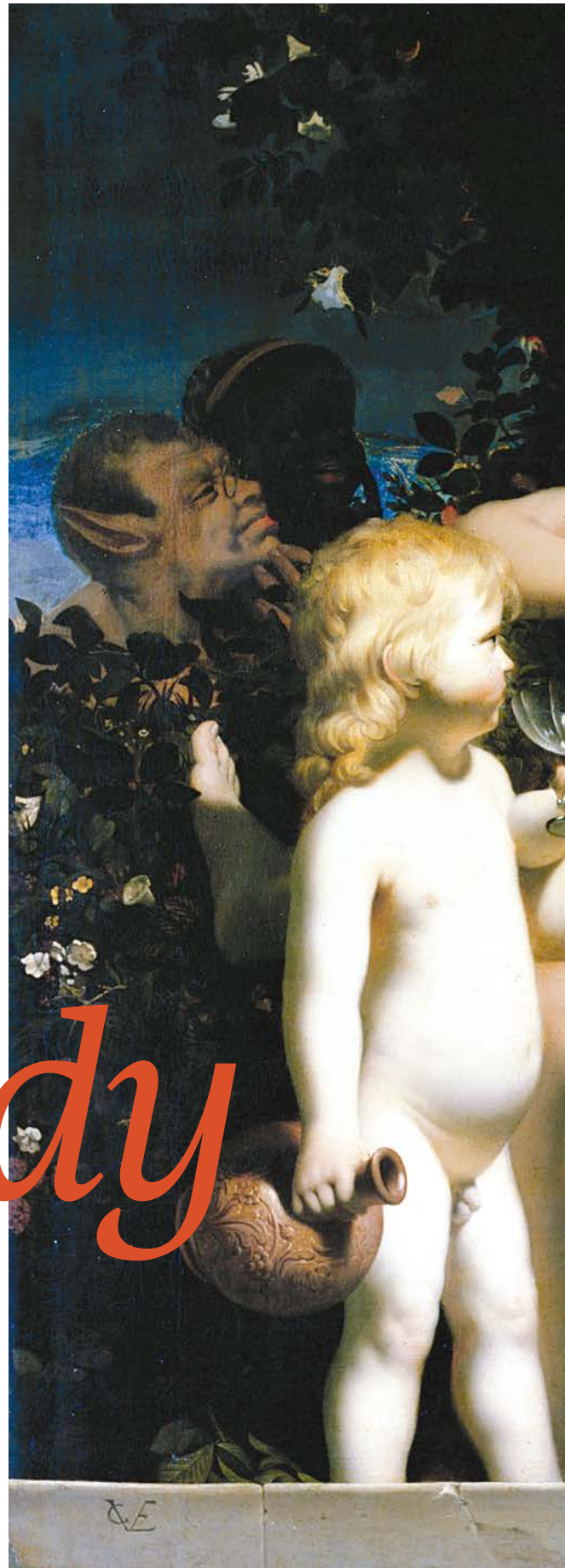
Bacchus with Two Nymphs and Amor by Cesar Boetius van Everdingen, c.1650-60.

THE THEATRICAL GENRE of comedy was formally recognised by being integrated, for the first time, into the programme of the drama competitions of the classical Athenian state two and a half millennia ago, in 486 BC. In an outdoor theatre in the sanctuary of the wine god Dionysus, a musical chorus of men dressed in obscene costumes accompanied a knockabout actor or two who cracked jokes and shouted versified abuse at an audience of tipsy citizens. The epoch-making incorporation of the rumbustious new genre into the competitions at the festivals of Dionysus came a few years, or even decades, later than that of the far more dignified genre of tragedy. The man responsible for introducing the tragic competitions had probably been Peisistratos, the last successful tyrant of Athens during the previous century. He courted the favour of his citizens and advertised the glory of their city to the wider Greek world by bankrolling spectacular entertainments at the city's festivals.

But comedy, introduced subsequent to the democratic revolution that finally ousted the Athenian tyrants in 507 BC, was different. It did not glamourise long-dead mythical heroes in a manner of which a tyrant could approve: it insulted rulers and well-known citizens. Its performers dressed in bizarre padded costumes with pot bellies and artificial penises (*ithyphalloi*). They wore cartoon-like comic masks ridiculing famous people's – and gods' – facial features. They mocked anybody who 'put their head about the parapet' in public life. They talked freely about sleaze, corruption and personal toilet habits. They subjected powerful ►

The Birth of Comedy

From sausage-sellers to suffragettes, questioning and puncturing our political leaders through satire has been essential for democracy ever since comedy was born in Ancient Greece, argues **Edith Hall**.





Masked musicians in a scene from a comedy by Dioskourides of Samos. Mosaic from the Villa of Cicero, Pompeii, second century BC.



individuals and groups to trial by vitriolic laughter that makes most modern equivalents – *Private Eye*, *Spitting Image*, *Not the Nine O'Clock News* – look half-hearted in comparison. The intensity of the verbal and physical abuse that characters suffered in comic theatre ensured that only robust, popular and clever men survived to be re-elected again.

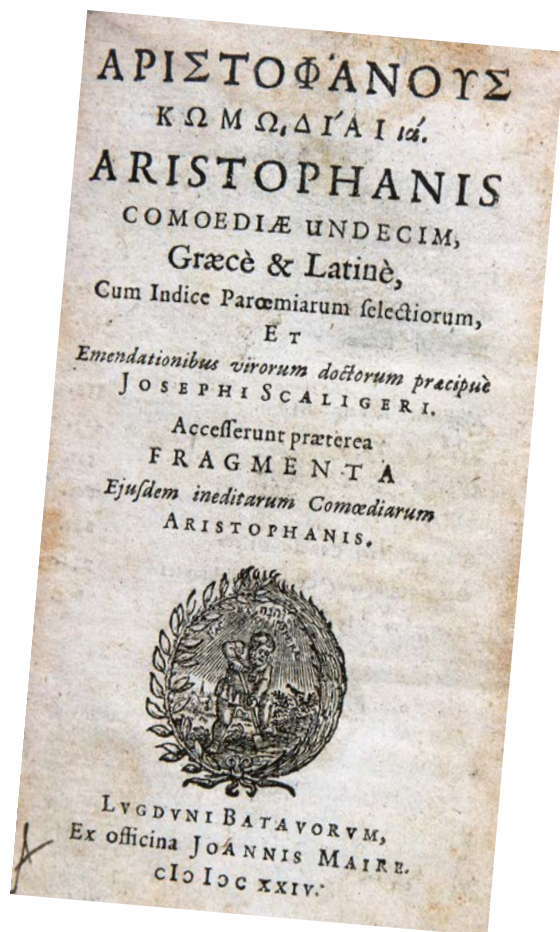
Like everything else to do with Greek history in the early fifth century, the evidence is sparse. An ancient inscription found on a large block of stone from the Aegean island of Paros says that the first ever 'comic chorus' was established at the festival by the people of Ikarion (a north-eastern Athenian district), that its inventor was called Sousarion and that the prize was a basket of figs and 40 litres of wine. But an entry in a Byzantine encyclopaedia known as the *Suda* reports that the first person to 'put on' a comedy (or to 'star in' one – the Greek is ambiguous) was called Chionides. Perhaps the different names preserve memories of two of the earliest competing comedians, or of the victorious producer and his star actor.

Sadly, no pioneering text by Sousarion or Chionides survives and we only have scraps of information about the dozens of plays performed between the first official comic competition in 486 and 425 BC. In fact, only 11 Athenian democratic comedies survive, traditionally called 'Old Comedies' in order to distinguish them from the more domestic and genteel 'New Comedies' that arose after the Macedonian conquest. The extant 'Old Comedies', which premiered between 425 and 388 BC, were all by one dramatist, Aristophanes. He was not the sole great author of

Old Comedy, nor the only one to think up absurd and surreal imaginary scenarios involving talking fauna, or spectacular visits to heaven on the theatrical crane, or women taking power, or boat-trips accompanied by singing frogs to the Underworld: two of his plays bear titles that had earlier been used by a comic poet named Magnes (*Birds* and *Frogs*). Aristophanes also struggled to establish his name in competition with his older rivals, the brilliant Cratinus and Eupolis.

ONE THING IS CLEAR: from its inception as a recognised element of the festival, comedy was intimately tied to the democracy – the form of sovereign power (*kratos*) held by the free populace – the *demos* of Athens. The other Greek city-states which laid claim to indigenous local comedy, Megara (which bordered Athens in central Greece) and Syracuse in Sicily, were also democratic at the time. The plays performed in the competitions, where victory brought kudos and indirect financial rewards, were chosen by a democratically appointed magistrate charged with protecting the interests of the people. The relationship of comedy to political power – the question of who gets to laugh publicly at whom – remains as close today. A good litmus test of any society is its ability to tolerate unfettered freedom of comic expression. The history of political comedy and of the influence of Aristophanes have always been turbulent.

The most savage comedy by Aristophanes is his *Knights*, performed at the bibulous Lenaea festival of Dionysus, in the month equivalent to



Above: Edition of Aristophanes' Comedies, Leiden, 1624.
Below: Vase depicting a Dionysian comedy scene, 360-40 BC.



The relationship of comedy to political power – the question of who gets to laugh publicly at whom – remains as close today

January 424 BC. This text gave the world not only the term demagogue – a person who leads (*agogein*) the people (*demos*) – but its archetypal example, the Athenian statesman Cleon. He was the most popular leader to emerge after the death of the aristocratic Pericles, who had been repeatedly re-elected to top office for three decades. Cleon was no aristocrat but a member of a nouveau riche family (his father owned a leather business), a champion of the poor and a fierce, mesmerising orator. Athens was at war with Sparta for hegemony in the Greek world, so Cleon advocated the stern punishment of Greek city-states which seceded from the Athenian empire. He understood that the right of the ordinary, lower-class Athenian citizens to political sovereignty was directly dependent on revenue from subject states. The year before *Knights* he had won a famous military victory over the Spartans and was riding the crest of a wave.

CLEON CAME FROM the same district as Aristophanes, Cydathenaeum. It was in the civic heart of Athens and included the market-place. But being close neighbours did not prevent the politician and the poet from loathing one another: Cleon apparently lodged a complaint against Aristophanes for criticising his policies in a lost play, *Banqueters*, in 426 BC. In *Acharnians* (425), Aristophanes' hero, Dikaiopolis (Upright City), pleads passionately for a peace treaty with Sparta against the policies of Cleon. The pacifism of the play has made it a popular choice for performance at times of looming war; it was performed, for example, in a translation by Gilbert Murray at Somerville College, Oxford, in early 1914, with music including familiar French, German and English patriotic songs. Promoted as an 'unmistakeable vindication of peace', this production conspicuously failed to achieve its aim; 59 male undergraduates took part, yet how many were still alive four years later? But however poignant *Acharnians* and the two other pro-peace plays of Aristophanes can still be in performance, the raw class struggle depicted in the less lyrical *Knights* makes it the most scathing political comedy of all time.

KNIGHTS IS STAGED at the house of the personified Demos, built on the Pnyx Hill, where the democratic assemblies were convened. The three dominant contemporary politicians, including Cleon, are slaves of Demos: Cleon is called the 'Paphlagonian', which means both a man from what is now northern Turkey, Paphlagonia (so likely to be a slave), and a man whose oratory violently 'boils' or 'blusters'. The chorus consists of upper-class knights, prosperous Athenians who served as cavalrymen rather than in the infantry or navy from which Cleon drew his supporters. The Paphlagonian's enemies decide to oust him from power. To deride what the Athenian elite (including the historian Thucydides) saw as the parvenu Cleon's atrocious manners, they select a citizen of the lowest class, a sausage-vendor, and train him up as an orator to take on the Paphlagonian in parliament.

The Paphlagonian is attacked for ugliness, gluttony, corruption, bribery, intimidation and cynically manipulating Demos with spurious oracles. He is humiliated by comic slapstick and beaten with sausages. Most of the play consists ▶

of contests in shouting, boasting and threatening; the sausage-seller and the Paphlagonian try to show that each will serve their master, the Demos-People, better than their rival. Aristophanes gives the best laughs to the sausage-seller. Ultimately, Demos realises that he has been cheated by the Paphlagonian and chooses the sausage-seller as his new steward. The Paphlagonian is driven out to the city's gates where he is to take over the sausage-seller's job, quarrel with prostitutes and sell meat for dogs and donkeys.

Demos forges a new deal with the sausage-seller, now named 'the Pick of the Market-Place', Agorakritos. Agorakritos promises to protect the interests of the people over those of the higher classes. He will ensure that sailors get paid punctually and that knights can not dodge the draft. In this radical ending, a man of the lowest class has been found competent to be top statesman. He is actually a fictional version of Cleon; a popular politician who supports the lower classes. But he does not share Cleon's alleged sleaze, self-interest and corruption. Aristophanes has responded to the contemporary political climate by producing an ideal picture, however hilarious, of a functioning relationship between the Demos and a leader from its lowest social class.

Knights made Aristophanes' career. It was the first play with which he won first prize as sole dramatist. The Athenians loved it: since Cleon was certainly in the audience, the atmosphere must have been electric. But *Knights* did nothing to damage Cleon's reputation either. He was soon afterwards elected to a generalship, before being killed two years later at the battle of Amphipolis. Comedy had fulfilled its democratic role. It had put a statesman on trial by vituperation and his reputation had survived the test. This indicates a healthy relationship, from which today we still have plenty to learn, between 'the arts' and the body politic. Admittedly, comedy's influence on public opinion sometimes had more negative results. Although Aristophanes and the philosopher Socrates are depicted as friends in Plato's *Symposium* (c.385-70 BC), the mud which the playwright threw at the philosopher in his *Clouds* the year after *Knights* seems to have stuck. Socrates later said in his defence

Comedy had put a statesman on trial ... and his reputation had survived the test

speech, Plato's *Apology*, that his reputation had been damaged by Aristophanes' comic caricatures of himself as a crazy natural scientist. But the example of Socrates must not diminish our appreciation of the principle of comic scrutiny enshrined in Athenian democratic comedy.

For the remaining eight centuries of pagan antiquity, Aristophanes' plays were read in schools and used in the training of orators. But no such politically explicit comedy ever flourished again after the end of Athenian

democracy. The Roman satire-writers, who admired Aristophanes, did not dare imitate his direct assaults on those in power: Horace, Juvenal and Martial kept their saltier invectives for rulers who were safely dead or for generalised moral 'types', such as the libidinous woman or the boring poetaster. There is one sad account of a Roman emperor's savage reprisals against comedians. The Greeks of Alexandria in Egypt used comedy to criticise the Emperor Caracalla, who had become sole ruler in AD 211 after murdering his brother Geta. Perhaps they felt they lived far enough away from Rome to get away with it. They produced entertainments ridiculing Caracalla's murder of his brother and intimacy with his mother. They mocked him because, although short, he compared himself with the tallest heroes, like Alexander the Great and Achilles.

THEY SOON REGRETTED their audacity. Exactly 18 centuries ago, in 215, Caracalla paid them a visit. According to the Greek historian Herodian:

Reports came to Caracalla that the Alexandrians were continually poking fun at him. The Alexandrians are naturally inclined to mockery at the expense of those at the top of the tree. Although these clever jests may seem very funny to those who produce them, they inflict severe pain on those who are ridiculed. The most acute pain is caused by jokes which expose one's defects.

So the 'naturally brutal and irascible Caracalla' invited all the young men of the city to a military festivity and had his own troops systematically execute every one. The Nile ran with their blood. Then he slaughtered thousands of the other citizens. Such is the power of comedy to enrage unaccountable despots.

Right: Bust of Caracalla, third century AD.
Far right: Greek comedy mask, terracotta, second century BC.





Robert Walpole addressing his Cabinet, by Joseph Goupy, 1723-42.

May 1656 Davenant presented a performance neutrally entitled *The First Days Entertainment* at Rutland House, which consisted of 'Declamations and Musick; after the manner of the Ancients'. The Rutland House venue was his own home in Aldersgate Street, London (near the modern Barbican). The figures of Aristophanes and Diogenes the Cynic declaimed respectively for and against the value of public entertainments. The performance distinguished itself from a stage play by making the declaimers remain seated and not using costumes or props. At the end there were songs 'relating to the Victor' (i.e. Oliver Cromwell). It was thus Aristophanes as controversialist whom Davenant chose to defend all the performing arts at this crucial moment in their history: Aristophanes became the mouthpiece for a royalist man of the theatre frustrated in both the political and the creative spheres. Davenant was rewarded at the Restoration by being given a patent allowing him to produce plays at the Duke's Theatre, in Dorset Gardens on the Thames.

ARISTOPHANIC COMEDY was also instrumental in the crackdown on political drama, in the form of the 1737 Licensing Act, implemented by the man who was effectively the first British prime minister, Robert Walpole. This legislation allowed the government to censor any stage play

THE ALEXANDRIANS' anti-Caracalla comedies have not survived. But Aristophanes' plays were mercifully preserved in the manuscript tradition of Byzantium and the first printed edition of nine of Aristophanes' 11 surviving plays was published in Italy in 1498. Soon translated into easy Latin and modern languages, his bracing, obscene and imaginative comedies had a massive impact on the future directions taken both by comedy and by discussions of censorship and freedom of speech. The publication of the earliest complete and faithful English language translation of Aristophanes, *The World's Idiot; or, Plutus the God of Wealth* (1659), by a mysterious Irish pro-Catholic author called simply 'H.B.', showed how dramatic material could make a political statement, even at a time when theatrical activity was curtailed. It also sheds light on Irish responses to Cromwell's activities in Ireland. Meanwhile, in England the suppressed cavalier dramatists saw Aristophanes as the emblem of the theatrical entertainments that the Puritans had closed down.

An Interregnum entertainment produced by William Davenant, who had once been patronised by Henrietta Maria and incarcerated, tested the boundaries of the proscription on stage performance by producing crypto-theatrical entertainments that were not labelled as such. In

and was not fully repealed until 1968. Walpole was responding to theatrical attacks on his premiership, especially the Aristophanes-influenced political satires of Henry Fielding – *Historical Register for the Year 1736* and *Eurydice Hiss'd* – which were playing in 1737 to packed houses at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket. Since Walpole could now refuse a licence to any but the most anodyne of comedies, the legislation put Fielding out of business. In order to attack Walpole another way, in 1742 he jointly published a translation of Aristophanes' last comedy *Wealth*. In the preface he developed his ideas about the possibility and desirability of a truly free, political comedy.

It was not until the 19th century, however, that playwrights really rediscovered the radical potential of Aristophanes. A French vaudeville version of *Lysistrata*, in which the women of Athens go on sex strike to persuade their husbands to end the war with Sparta, was censored. Penned by François-Benoît Hoffman during the final negotiations for the ephemeral peace treaty of Amiens, it was performed in the Théâtre Feydeau in January 1802 (Nivôse of the 10th year of the Revolution). Although the adaptation drastically reduced both the political and the sexual pithiness of the Aristophanic original, it was forcibly shut down by the Consulat after only four performances. The printed edition ►

COMEDY

reveals that the play had shocked Napoleon because of its irreverent manner of treating the war, apparently too serious a subject for laughter, even on the eve of a truce.

GERMAN RADICALS were also inspired by Aristophanes in the run-up to the revolution of March 1848; Robert Prutz's satirical drama in imitation of Aristophanes, *The Political Maternity Ward* (1845), was an open attack on the regime of Friedrich Wilhelm IV and brought a charge of treason down on its author's head. The play that sparked the most political readings, by the end of the 19th century, was undoubtedly *Assemblywomen*, in which the women of Athens, disgusted with the poverty and apathy of the government run by their husbands, set up a comical version of a communist-feminist utopia. In Germany, social democratic revolutionaries used it to illustrate their own vision, a tradition of interpretation that fed into the adoption of Aristophanes by the earlier phase of revolutionary Russia. The classicist Anatoly Lunacharsky, appointed Lenin's Commissar of Enlightenment in 1917, announced that Aristophanes should take a permanent place in the proletarian theatre and *Assemblywomen* was performed several times on the early Soviet stage.

In Britain Aristophanes was harnessed to the cause of women's suffrage. The exceptionally obscene *Lysistrata* had kept it off curricula and away from the public eye. But by 1910, the actresses involved in the movement for women's suffrage, many of them members of the Actresses' Franchise League, were looking to ancient dramas to help them make their point. When Gertrude Kingston became the lessee of

Right: *Lysistrata* by Aristophanes, illustration by Aubrey Beardsley, late 19th century. Below: *The Golden Rump* lampooned elite society in 1737.





The right to question through comedy every idea and every person in a position of power is surely a lynchpin of democracy



Laurence Housman, 1865-1959.

the Little Theatre in the Adelphi, she opened her first season with *Lysistrata*, in which she played the title role. The translator was the supporter of both women's rights and gay rights, A.E. Housman's less well-known brother, Laurence. He had helped found the Men's League for Women's Suffrage in England in 1907 and saw the production as offering an unusual political opportunity. The Woman's Press published Housman's translation in 1911, after which North American suffrage groups also performed it. It was also after cutting her teeth on an adaptation of *Lysistrata* that Joan Littlewood, the most important British female director of the 20th century, developed her distinctive brand of politicised musical revue, exemplified in *Oh, What a Lovely War!* (1963).

Aristophanic comedies have ever since continued to be performed and sometimes suppressed. In the summer of 1959, the Greek Art Theatre, directed by Karolos Koun, premiered its production of Aristophanes' *Birds*. Its topicality subverted all the conventions that

Mademoiselle Demours as Lysistrata, early 20th century.

had previously governed modern Greek productions of ancient comedy. Branded anti-clerical, anti-American and dangerously left-leaning, the production was closed down by the government of Constantine Karamanlis and sparked off

a controversy that was to reverberate throughout Europe and North America during the ensuing two decades of unrest in Greece. Its dissident content and the unforeseen protests it spurred became critical public issues in stage politics until after the fall of the Greek dictatorship of 1967-74. Yet nowhere has Aristophanes been so contested as cultural property as in later 20th-century South Africa. Originally introduced as part of the syllabus read by both British and Dutch in their schools and universities, productions of Aristophanes began in the 1970s to address the problem of apartheid. In an Afrikaans adaptation by André P. Brink of *Birds*, staged by the Performing Arts Council of the Transvaal's Youth Theatre in 1971, the birds created a new flag for the new kingdom out of yellow, green and black feathers, the colours of the African National Congress, at that time a banned organisation.

THERE ARE MANY countries in the world where no political theatre or satire is tolerated. The right to question through comedy every idea and every person in a position of power is surely a lynchpin of democracy. Leaders who do not approve of Aristophanic comedy are usually suspect: the most recent internationally high-profile case of censorship occurred in 2002 when the government of Silvio Berlusconi interfered in a production of *Frogs* directed by Luca Ronconi, whose decadent, vulgar Romanised god, Dionysus, the protagonist of the play, was all too intelligible to third-millennial Italian audiences.

When that epoch-making first competition in comic theatre was held in 486 BC a comic attitude to life was, of course, not new. The ancient Greeks were cracking jokes from the first moment in history when we can hear their voices: the Cretans who lived in Bronze Age Knossos must have had their tongues in their Mycenaean cheeks when they called their ploughing cows 'Nimble', 'Swift' and 'Talkative', names we can read in the early script, Linear B. There are plenty of ribald insults designed to provoke laughter in the eighth-century BC Homeric epics, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, often when someone has raised the question of who is entitled to political power. Celebrants of festivals connected with fertility and viticulture had for centuries hurled abuse at local individuals while they processed in mummers' costumes, sometimes on wagons, through the villages. The stem *kom-* in *komoidia*, 'comedy', means 'revel' or 'carousal', while also sounding like the Greek word for an unwall'd rural village: *komoidia* thus means a 'revel-ode', with rustic overtones. But *ad hominem* abuse incorporated into a musical drama, along with an often wildly imaginative plotline, was something completely new. The Athenians had discovered a timeless secret: not only is comedy a political issue but satire is a democratic duty.

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Heavy damage in London during the Blitz. The building shown was badly damaged in an air raid during September 1940. © V&A

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The Battle for Britain

Andrew Stewart investigates the forgotten role of those ‘ideal soldiers of democracy’, troops from Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, who arrived to defend Britain from invasion.

THE SUMMER OF 1940 remains one of the most decisive periods in British history. Most often it is remembered for the evacuation of the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) from France, which began in the last days of May, and the battles that were fought in the country's skies during the period that ran from July 10th until October 31st, commonly referred to as the Battle of Britain. The postwar literature has provided detailed assessments of the role played by the air, maritime and the land forces that were involved. A striking omission, however, is the scant reference made to the contribution provided by the military forces of the Dominions and British overseas colonies. By September 1940 they were engaged heavily in the defence of the United Kingdom.

This can in part be explained by the scant available

resources when war was declared, a result of limited inter-war investment in equipment and manpower. The maritime and air contribution, at least initially, was particularly restricted. Between them, the four Dominions – Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa – who declared war in September 1939 in support of Britain, could muster no more than 20 naval vessels. The Royal Canadian Navy made the largest contribution but even this consisted of only 13 ships and 1,774 officers and men. In terms of air forces there were fewer than 10,000 trained men in total and only a small number of operational squadrons, all of which were needed for domestic training purposes. This led to volunteers travelling to Britain to join the Royal Air Force, 134 men from New Zealand, 112 Canadians, 37 Australians and 25 from South Africa. In terms ►

Patriotic postcard from Canada, c. 1943.

SECOND WORLD WAR

of land forces, within days of the war's outbreak Britain's senior military leaders had considered what assistance would be welcomed from the Dominions and each was encouraged to provide an expeditionary force. Although it was acknowledged that this might not be possible at the outset, the War Cabinet in London agreed to proposals that the British army be built up to 55 divisions within two years; the Dominions were earmarked to provide 14 of them.

These ambitious proposals appeared to ignore some hesitancy among the Dominion leaders. In South Africa the volatile political situation meant that there was no prospect of any official forces being sent to Britain's aid. Efforts were also made by William Mackenzie King, Canada's prime minister, to limit his country's role to providing financial assistance and the Empire Air Training Plan, an agreement to act as a base to prepare recruits from Britain and the Commonwealth as aircrew. As Lester Pearson, a member of the Canadian High Commission in London, noted in his diary, his countrymen 'would countenance no such half-way involvement; Canadians would not accept a role to guard their bridges and their borders, to produce munitions and war supplies while British soldiers did the fighting against the Nazis'. After weeks of uncertainty, in late October 1939 it was finally announced that a division of troops would be sent to England. Speaking in the House of Representatives in Canberra in late September, the Australian Prime Minister Robert Menzies had announced that a force of 100,000 men would

be raised but offered no date on when they would be sent; as one observer in the Foreign Office remarked: 'The Australians remain terrified of the Japanese.' New Zealand was by far the most enthusiastic and within a few weeks it was confirmed that a fully equipped division would be available within eight months. This could be sent to wherever the authorities in London preferred; France, Burma, India, Singapore or Fiji were identified as the best locations. By November 1939 the Wellington government had decided to move the first brigade of troops, ignoring an agreement to maintain close contact with Canberra regarding defence measures and leaving the Australians with little choice but

The Canadians were given priority in receiving equipment and training and this placed them at the forefront of the British planners' thinking

to do the same. Within weeks both the First Echelon of the Second New Zealand Expeditionary Force and Australia's Sixth Division had also sailed from their respective home ports heading for the Middle East.

The First Canadian Division, which began to disembark at Scottish ports in the middle of December 1939 after an eight-day voyage from Halifax, was the first contingent of Dominion troops to reach Britain. Leaving the first troopship to arrive, the *Aquitania*, was a battalion from New Brunswick which included, along with French and English-speaking Canadians, a handful of Native Americans. By February 1940 additional arrivals had increased the

Soldiers of the Canadian Active Service Force arrive in Scotland, December, 1939.





Queen Elizabeth, Queen Consort to George VI, inspecting Canadian Troops, Aldershot, 1941.

total force to 25,000 troops, commanded by the 52-year-old General Andrew McNaughton, who had served as an artillery officer in the Great War. To another London-based Canadian diplomat his countrymen were looked upon by their hosts 'as an army of friendly barbarians who for some incomprehensible reason have come to protect him from his enemies'. An American journalist wrote later that the 'English' had:

found an incomprehensible North American character who for [his] taste drank too much, bragged too much, had too much money. And even with a good Scottish or Welsh or Yorkshire name he was quite capable of materialising as an Eskimo from Hudson Bay, a Ukrainian from the wheat prairies, a French Canadian from the logging camps, or a Nova Scotia fisherman.

While there might have been tensions, the Dominion troops were highly visible. On two brief occasions in April 1940 units of Canadians – the Royal 22nd Regiment and the Toronto Scottish, which had King George VI and Queen Elizabeth as colonels-in-chief, respectively – provided the king's guard at the Royal Palaces. When the former, known as 'The Van Doos', was on duty the sentry's orders were printed in both French and English – it was the first time this role had been performed by troops from the British Empire who were not British and did not speak English – and at the associated mess dinner the toast given to the monarch was 'Messieurs, le Roi!'

THE CANADIANS were given priority in receiving equipment and training and this placed them at the forefront of the British planners' thinking. Thanks to their familiarity with cold, snowy terrain they were considered to be perfect for the proposed February 1940 plan to assist Finland, but its subsequent abandonment meant that they never left British shores. When next approached in April to support the Norwegian expedition, 1,300 men were offered as part of the proposed force for an amphibious attack against Trondheim but this plan was also abandoned and the troops returned to their base at Salisbury Plain. With the 'surprise' German attack on the Low Countries the following month – and as the only significant military contingent still in the country – the Canadians were quickly called upon. In his headquarters in Aldershot, McNaughton knew that his forces were central to the plans to defend Britain and the code word 'Julius' was issued on May 10th, giving the warning to stand ready and prepare. As they waited at one hour's notice, men of the 2nd Canadian Infantry Brigade drew hard rations and mortar rounds. They mounted machine guns around their barracks to deal with attacking German aircraft and camouflaged their transport in advance of making a rapid move. The code word 'Father Xmas' would alert them that German paratroopers were landing; 'Caesar' meant they were to draw ammunition and head to the Newmarket area. The attack never came and, as the situation in France and the Low Countries worsened, ►

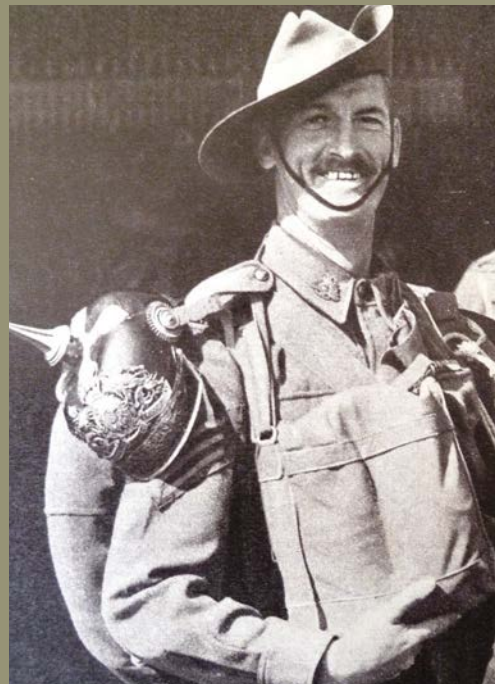
With additional troops arriving during the first days of June, slit trenches were dug, anti-aircraft defences prepared and plans drawn up

the decision was made that the Canadians should join the battle. The initial plan called for elements of the division to land in the Calais area to secure the port and keep the coast road to Dunkirk open, allowing for the BEF to be evacuated through it if necessary. Called Operation 'Angel Move', McNaughton and a small advance party landed on May 23rd and by the following day the first units were loaded on ships at Dover and ready to sail for France. That same night, however, the decision was taken at the War Office that there was nothing to be gained from sending these troops across the Channel and the plans were once again eventually abandoned.

For the remainder of his division the Canadian commander had proposed that they be organised into a 'highly mobile, quick-acting, hard-hitting reserve'. In this plan a number of battalions with the necessary supporting arms would be kept at just one hour's notice and be able to operate independently. This was accepted by the Commander-in-Chief, Home Forces, General Sir Edmund Ironside, and Canadian Force was established. A full brigade was moved immediately to the Northampton area, where it was intended to be available to reinforce British forces spread thinly along the east coast of England between the Thames and the Humber. With additional troops arriving during the first days of June, slit trenches were dug, anti-aircraft defences prepared and plans drawn up for moving the Canadians wherever they were most needed in the large defence area. They did not stay long, however, moving south again on June 7th with the intention of setting sail for France as part of a newly proposed operation to retain a redoubt on the Brittany peninsula. Some of these troops did cross the Channel and moved to the Le Mans area but, having achieved little and with France poised to seek an armistice, a week later they were withdrawn, leaving behind most of their transport and heavy equipment. The commanding officer of the 1st Field Regiment Royal Canadian Horse Artillery refused to destroy his unit's equipment and was eventually given two hours to save what he could; this allowed 24 potentially vital 25-pounder guns to be recovered along with a dozen abandoned British anti-aircraft guns and much of this unit's transport, all of which would have a role to play in the coming defence.

BACK IN BRITAIN and now returned to the Aldershot area, the decision was made that the Canadian contingent should again be prepared to act as the mobile reserve that would counter-attack against any invasion. By the evening of June 18th it had been decided by the military commanders in London ►





Top row, left to right: Mobile infantry motorcycles, similar to those used by the Canadian Force in Oxfordshire; Canadian anti-tank gun in an orchard, July 1940; Sergeant H.E. Roberts of the Australian contingent carrying a German helmet as a souvenir. Middle row, left to right: Cruiser Mk IV tanks from 1 British Armoured Division passing through a Surrey village, July 1940; Canadian troops conducting drills and exercises in preparation for an invasion. Bottom row, left to right: Australian troops diverted to Britain after leaving Melbourne in May 1940; men from the 57th (Newfoundland) Heavy Regiment manning a 9.2-inch howitzer in Sussex; a Canadian corporal giving wireless instruction to men from the New Zealand Expeditionary Force at their base in Aldershot.

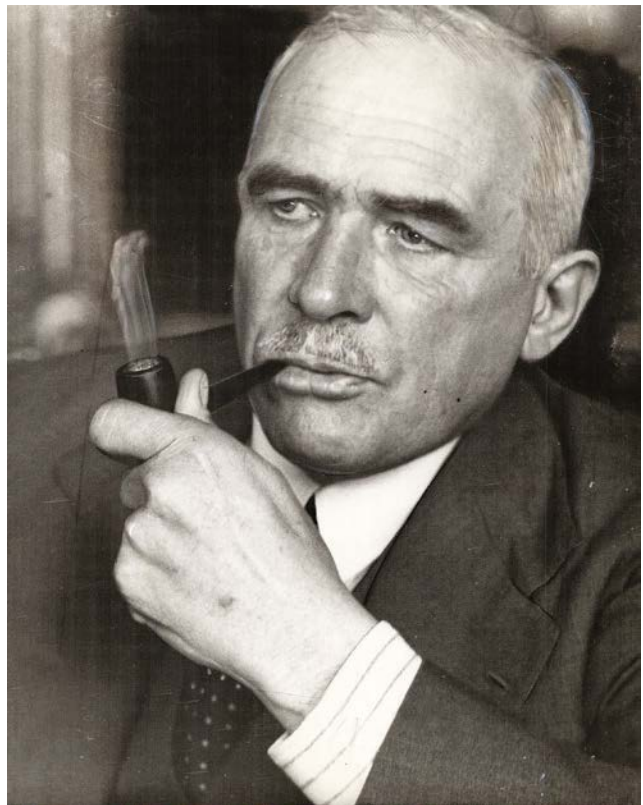


SECOND WORLD WAR

that a more central location was needed for this force and Oxford seemed to offer a strategic advantage. Nearly two thirds of the division was soon spread around the city, largely in tented accommodation, making preparations for what might happen next. McNaughton briefed his senior officers that the men would be 'a mobile reserve with a 360 degree front; and may have to operate anywhere in Great Britain from the South coast, to Scotland, or in Wales'. His assessment was that the enemy would simulate an attack in the south, perhaps paying specific reference to London, but would make its main effort further north. This would involve a seaborne landing in the area of the Wash on Britain's east coast, supported by major airborne attacks in the rear, covering a huge area across the Midlands and involving 10-15,000 troops. He saw the German plan as being designed to paralyse industrial production; countering the airborne threat would be the Canadian focus. With two tank battalions from IV Corps and some other scattered light armoured units, at this point this was the only mobile force available in the entire country and this was thought likely to be the case for at least ten days. Although the troops were undoubtedly enthusiastic, they had been given a huge task and it was perhaps fortunate that there was no requirement to test how they could respond. In little more than a week, the situation had improved as forces that had been evacuated from France were re-organised in growing numbers.

THE DECISION was now taken to establish two small corps formations, one based north of the Thames and the other to the south, but both designated for the same rapid response role. McNaughton was given command of one of these, VII Corps, which was to cover the entire Channel coast, and was promoted to Lieutenant-General. Churchill, now nearly two months into his wartime premiership, was a strong advocate of the idea, arguing that 'a division in reserve is worth six divisions on the beaches since only one in seven of these will in all probability be present at the point of impact'. Throughout the summer the Canadian-led corps conducted intensive training exercises, which placed special emphasis on moving rapidly in brigade and battalion groups to wherever the invasion might be taking place. This meant work on co-operation between ground and air forces as well as between infantry and armour. Reconnaissance squadrons were established, some using motorcycles, to allow for greater mobility and provide protection on the front, rear and flanks of fast-moving columns. Canadian engineers worked on constructing fixed defences, providing advice on the various 'stop lines' and helping with the siting of anti-tank obstacles and pill-boxes. They also worked on improving the transport routes that would be used to move the reserve forces as quickly as possible to the areas of greatest danger, most notably building a bypass at the potential bottleneck of Redhill, which would allow for more rapid access to Brighton and Dover. Artillerymen from Newfoundland also manned 9.2-inch heavy guns with a battery of six of these large mortar-type weapons stationed in Sussex, from where it was intended they could bombard any approaching German invasion fleet.

THE CANADIANS were not the only Dominion troops to have made it to Britain. It had eventually been agreed the



Top: General Andrew McNaughton, April, 1943.
Above: General Sir Edmund Ironside, Commander-in-Chief, Home Forces.

Right: Prime Minister Winston Churchill speaks with two newly arrived New Zealand soldiers, June 25th, 1940.



previous year that the Second New Zealand Expeditionary Force (2NZEF) would be permanently based in Britain but complete its training in Egypt. While the First Echelon reached the Middle East safely in February, the next had only set sail in early May 1940, by which point it was clear that the situation in Europe was worsening and the decision was taken that they would head immediately for Britain and remain there until at least mid-August or such time as the threat had passed. Arriving on June 16th, they were also moved to Aldershot, initially under the command of Brigadier James Hargest; Major-General Bernard Freyberg shortly afterwards took charge, writing to the government in Wellington that 'the arrival of the New Zealanders and Australians in the circumstances had been most opportune and had steadied the nation considerably'. It was certainly true that the media made much of this addition to the defending garrison; a few days later *The Times* referred to the troops as being 'as good to look at as they are refreshing to talk with – men of splendid physique and free minds, ideal soldiers of democracy'. This included a battalion of Maori troops and officers. In the same month, more than 400 officers and men of the New Zealand Royal Navy Volunteer Reserve also reached Britain, along with additional drafts of airmen, mostly pilots.

Initially 2NZEF was considered as a separate formation and given responsibility for part of the Aldershot defence system but the establishment in July of formal reserve forces saw it re-designated as a motorised formation to support the armoured units of 1 British Armoured Division. At this stage it had very little transport, with only 70 vehicles available for troop-carrying purposes and very limited equipment. The first issue was received on June 28th, at which point the New Zealanders were put on eight hours' notice as an invasion was thought possible that coming weekend. The troops were, however, still short on firepower. The Fifth Field Regiment had only one battery, a collection of old

18-pounders and 4.5-inch howitzers and the remainder of its men were put into an ad hoc infantry battalion. The anti-tank companies only had Bren guns and anti-tank rifles, while the Divisional Cavalry had just six light tanks and six Bren carriers. What motor transport they did have was used to good effect and, as the summer months progressed and no invasion came, exercises took place along Britain's south-east coast. By the end of August they were up to almost full strength and Freyberg was convinced that 'they had become a fully trained fighting force, capable of taking their part in any offensive'.

The Australians who reached Britain had a similar experience. It had been anticipated that the Second Australian Imperial Force would be based in the Middle East, but as an emergency move the 18th Brigade, along with sufficient other troops to form what became the 25th Brigade, was diverted to Britain. Arriving in Scotland on June 18th before being moved by train to the Salisbury Plain area, they had insufficient equipment or training to conduct operations. The situation had improved little by the end of July but they were nonetheless still given the role of tackling airborne troops in North Hampshire, with a small 'striking force' detached to defend Marlborough in neighbouring Wiltshire, although this small group alone would need all the available transport. Even by the middle of September it was still only possible to find 29 coaches to transport the Australians, with a further 41 needed along with other vehicles, to carry their ammunition. It took until the end of the month to find this, meaning that these troops were able to do little other than train.

DESPITE HAVING ONLY limited equipment available, the Dominion forces stood ready in Britain for the worst to happen. As the aerial Battle of Britain gathered momentum throughout August 1940 the now commonly held assessment was that, until such time as air superiority had been achieved, an invasion was unlikely. The first half of the following month seemed to offer the greatest threat and Saturday September 7th, a sunny late summer day, represented the moment of crisis.

With Home Forces already at a high state of alert, this marked the beginning of the Blitz and the first major attack on London. The 'Cromwell' alert, which had replaced 'Julius' and 'Caesar', was issued and most of the troops in Britain were mobilised in response to the 'invasion imminent' message. Dominion units were placed on notice to move and guards posted throughout the night with road blocks manned by nervous sentries. These included New Zealanders, who had been poised to leave for the Middle East but, warned that an invasion was imminent and now almost fully equipped with complete reserves of ammunition and supplies, had remained in an operational role. Nearly 7,000 men in total had conducted an emergency move under darkness and dug in to a new series of forward sites in woods and parks across the Maidstone-Folkestone-Dover area under the command of XII Corps. They had with them a functioning squadron of their Divisional Cavalry Regiment, a total of eight light tanks and 14 scout carriers, and waited with instructions to counter-attack any German landings and disperse airborne troops. There was ►

The enemy would simulate an attack in the south, perhaps paying specific reference to London



SECOND WORLD WAR

also a specific focus on the security of the port of Dover, its surrounding peninsula and the task of 'restoration of the line' of the Royal Military Canal in Kent, which was one of the key defensive positions for London. The Ham Street-Ashford-Charing line was also the proposed cover position for any approach to battle made by the mobile VII Corps reserve and it was anticipated that the Kiwis would ensure it was held in the first hours of any attack. With the Canadians still retaining their key reserve role as the crisis threatened, men from the Dominions stood squarely alongside the British defenders.

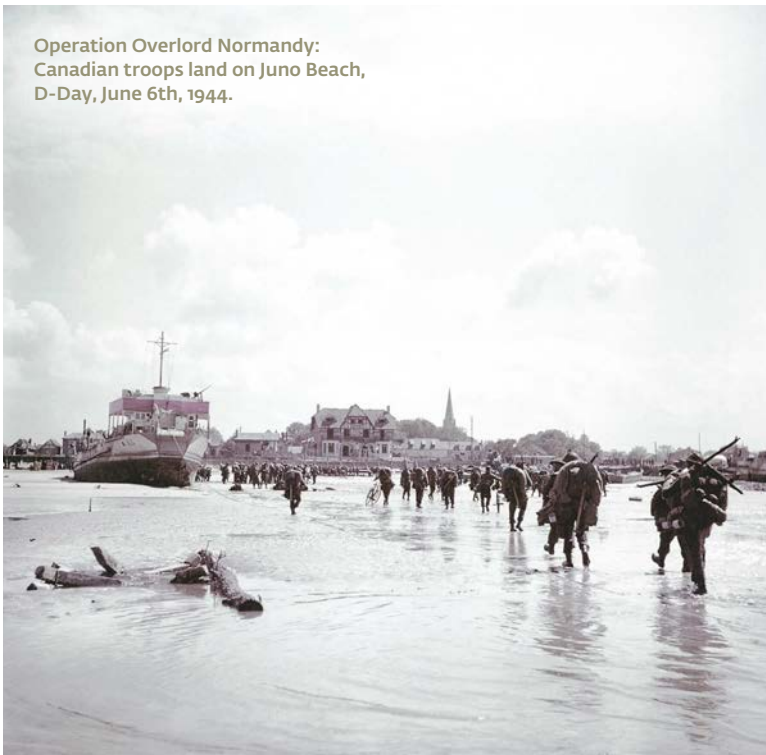
THIS ALERT STATE continued until September 19th, followed by an additional warning the following week, which, although it was not recognised as such by those involved, brought the period of crisis and the direct threat of Britain being invaded to an effective end, at least for that summer. With the defence of the country in a new phase, in addition to continuing their garrison role in Surrey and Hampshire, by late October elements of the Canadian force were also being used to guard beaches on the Sussex coast between Worthing and Newhaven. This was seen as a break from the monotony for troops who were, by this stage, growing frustrated at the lack of any opportunity to fight the Germans. By the end of October the remaining New Zealanders – several hundred had gone to the Middle East in a convoy on October 7th – left Kent and moved back to the Aldershot area. A series of convoys departed throughout late December and early January, until virtually the entire echelon had departed. The Australians did the same and eventually resumed their original journey, arriving in the Middle East in December, where they were



Above: Canadian soldiers pose by a Bren carrier, after ceasefire is announced, May 5th, 1945.

almost immediately committed to General Wavell's Operation 'Compass' and the attack on Italian forces in Libya. It was left to the ever-expanding Canadian forces to garrison Britain. During the final months of 1940 further reinforcements continued to arrive until, by December, with the successful concentration of the 2nd Canadian Division and its equipping, it was now possible to complete the decision taken in May to establish an entirely Canadian corps. This would be the 1st Canadian Corps and grow to become an army that in June 1944 would be part of the invasion of Normandy and go on to help liberate Europe. Back in the darkest days, four years before, this outcome was far from certain.

Operation Overlord Normandy: Canadian troops land on Juno Beach, D-Day, June 6th, 1944.



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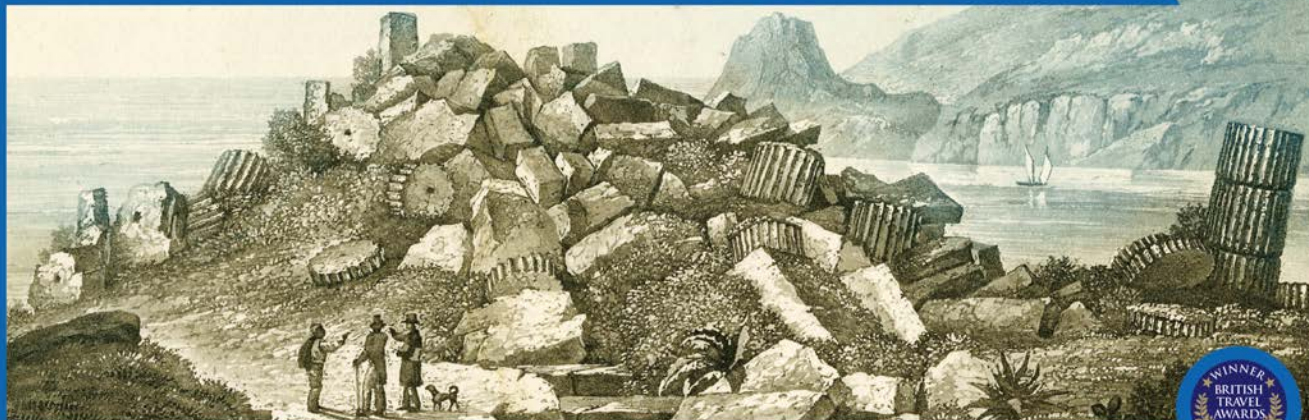
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Right: *The Fatherland in Danger* by Guillaume Guillon-Lethière, 1799.
Below: Jacques-Pierre Brissot, 18th-century French School.



Marisa Linton explains how Jacques-Pierre Brissot helped to initiate the French revolutionary wars, as he and Robespierre debated whether conflict with Austria should be a 'crusade for universal liberty'.



First step on the road to Waterloo



THERE WILL BE MANY occasions this year to recall the conflict that culminated in the Battle of Waterloo, but it is equally worth remembering how that conflict originated. Waterloo was the final step in a war that dragged on almost continually for more than 23 years and whose origins lay in the turbulent politics of the French Revolution. One man played a key role in unleashing that war: the revolutionary leader, Jacques-Pierre Brissot. Few people now know much about Brissot; there has been no full-length biography of him since that by the US historian, Eloise Ellery, a century ago. When Brissot is remembered it is either as a struggling pre-revolutionary political thinker and writer, or as the leader of the ‘moderate’ Girondin faction that perished under the Terror in October 1793. Brissot’s apologists state that his nemesis was Maximilien Robespierre. Like many historical narratives, accounts of Brissot as the ‘moderate’ victim of a ‘bloodthirsty’ Robespierre have been simplified: the reality was more complex. Between the winter of 1791 and spring 1792 these two men

were locked in a war of words over whether France should go to war with its neighbours. The parts that both men played in this debate were very different from the choices they made once the war had begun.

The downward spiral that led to war began when many French nobles, opposed to the Revolution of 1789, emigrated beyond France’s borders. The émigrés, as they became known, put pressure on Austria and other leading powers to make war on France and restore the old regime by force of arms. In June 1791 Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette attempted to become émigrés themselves, when they fled towards the Austrian border in what became known as the Flight to Varennes. Though they were intercepted and brought back to Paris, for many revolutionaries the king’s action was a rejection of the constitutional monarchy established in 1789 and a betrayal of his people. Suspicion about the loyalty of the king and his Austrian queen overshadowed the new Legislative Assembly that met in October 1791.

It was as a speaker in that Assembly that Brissot emerged to ►



'L'Egout Royal', the Flight to Varennes of the royal family, 18th-century caricature.

national prominence. Before the Revolution Brissot had pursued a varied career as a pamphleteer and man of letters on the fringes of the elite milieu of the Enlightenment salons. He had spent time in the notorious Bastille prison, accused, probably on false charges, of having written and circulated libellous pamphlets against Marie-Antoinette. He had a cosmopolitan outlook, had spent years living in London, campaigned against slavery and was a founder of the Society of the Friends of the Blacks. Inspired by the ideals of the American Revolution, he visited America and planned to live there. The Revolution in France changed his mind; now his own country was transformed into a world of new possibilities. He seized with both hands the opportunities that opened up before him. He was elected to the Paris municipality and started an influential paper, *Le Patriote français*. He became a member of the Jacobin Club, where revolutionaries gathered to debate politics, devise strategies and form networks. Here he befriended some of the leading radicals, including Robespierre, who was, like Brissot, a democrat and opponent of slavery, and Camille Desmoulins, a talented but volatile journalist. These men formed part of a network drawn together by political sympathies and reinforced by ties of friendship. When Desmoulins married in December 1790, he invited many of these Jacobins to the festivities and Robespierre and Brissot were his official witnesses.

Brissot lacked presence as an orator, but he was energetic and excelled at bringing people together. In the Assembly he surrounded himself with a group of ambitious, like-minded friends, including Vergniaud, Guadet and Gensonné, deputies from the Gironde region, who became known as the Girondins. Friends of Brissot outside the Assembly included the political couple, Monsieur and Madame Roland, and the Genevan

financier, Clavière. Madame Roland was clever, articulate and opinionated. Her memoirs give a vivid, if partisan, picture of her political salon, which became a regular meeting place for Brissot's group. The Genevan radical, Étienne Dumont, another member of their circle, was a more dispassionate observer. The Girondins were not an organised party, said Dumont; there was 'more chatter and party gossip' than clear strategy. What united them was their keen support for the war and their friendship with Brissot: 'Brissot became the doer. His activity sufficed for all.'

FROM THE FIRST WEEKS of the Legislative Assembly the atmosphere was overshadowed by fears of an invasion by a coalition of foreign powers led by Austria and Prussia. In August 1791 the Austrian emperor, Leopold II, issued the Declaration of Pillnitz, threatening to intervene militarily in France, if the royal family was endangered. Pillnitz was a bluff to appease the émigrés; though the foreign powers disliked and feared the Revolution, there was little unity among them and small appetite for a war. Even though Marie-Antoinette was his sister, Leopold was unwilling to wage war on behalf of the French monarchy. Yet Austria's aggressive rhetoric had a disastrous effect, for it gave credibility to the argument that France should pre-empt attack.

Over the winter Brissot and his faction spearheaded the drive for war both in the Assembly and the Jacobin Club. In the Club their principal opponent was Robespierre. In a succession of speeches Robespierre and Brissot confronted one another. Brissot explained his strategy: his plan was to destabilise the political situation, forcing the French monarchy to take sides. Either Louis XVI would capitulate and accept the new revolutionary regime, or he would emerge as its open enemy, at which



‘There are still great doses of poison within the heart of France and violent explosions are needed to expel them’

Above: Maximilien Robespierre, 18th-century French School.
Below: Madame Roland, by Johann Ernst Heinsius, 1792.



point both the monarchy and the constitution could be brought down in a renewal of revolution. Brissot hoped that the king would turn traitor: ‘I have only one fear, that we shall not be betrayed. We need great treasons, our safety lies there, because there are still great doses of poison within the heart of France and violent explosions are needed to expel them.’ It was a high-risk strategy, one that depended on the assumption that the war would end quickly with France victorious.

BRISSOT COULD NOT SEE that war might unleash terror. Rather, he claimed that war would end terror and extolled its beneficial effects:

This war is necessary to France for her honour ... to put an end to terrors, to treasons, to anarchy ... This war would be a real benefit, a national benefit, and the only calamity that France has to dread, is not to have war.

Robespierre had a more realistic – and grimly prophetic – grasp of the relationship between war and terror. He warned of the dangers of escalation and the loss of life that would result: ‘A war gives rise to terrors, to dangers, to plots, to reciprocal struggles, to treason, finally to casualties.’ In two key speeches, on January 2nd and 11th, Robespierre developed his reasons for opposing the war. He was not a pacifist, was not opposed to war on principle and shared the anxiety regarding the monarchy’s secret intentions. But he was appalled at the idea of endangering the Revolution on the unpredictable consequences of a war. He warned that the French armies were in disarray and in no condition to fight and that the loyalty of their officers (many of whom came from the former nobility) was doubtful. Brissot’s strategy would put France – and the Revolution – at the mercy of the military elite.

Brissot spoke of war as a ‘crusade for universal liberty’, a means both of purging the nation and of exporting the Revolution to other countries. He claimed that the revolutionary armies would be welcomed with open arms by benighted peoples, grateful for the introduction of French ‘liberty’. Robespierre’s more realistic judgement was that ‘no one welcomes armed missionaries’. He opposed the expansionist side of Brissot’s military plans, thinking that the need was to secure the Revolution within France, without seeking to export it abroad.

Robespierre found some sympathetic hearers, especially among the women in the audience. Desmoulins described to his father the scenes in the Jacobins when Robespierre addressed them on January 2nd: ►

REVOLUTIONARY WARS

'You could not imagine with what abandon, with what truth he threw himself into his argument. He reduced the audience to tears, not just the women on the benches, but half the members of the assembly.' Yet Robespierre's warnings of impending doom had less appeal for many spectators than the dashing defiance of Brissot's group. For all the logic of Robespierre's cautious rationale, he was outplayed by Brissot's recourse to the patriotism card.

BRISSOT INVOKED the spectre of conspiracy as a principal justification for war. All the revolutionaries were haunted by fear of conspiracies. An 'Austrian Committee' was said to be nestling at the heart of the French state and there were rumours that Marie-Antoinette, dressed as a man, crept out from the palace at night to deliver her instructions to the Austrian Committee in the shadows of the Bois de Boulogne. Though the stories of midnight rendezvous were far-fetched, there was some substance to these fears. Louis XVI, overwhelmed and depressed, was relying on his wife to make political decisions and Marie-Antoinette was playing a double game. In private correspondence to her allies the queen rejoiced in the short-sightedness of the war policy, anticipating that if France went to war it would result in military defeat and lead to a restoration of the old regime by force: 'The imbeciles!', she wrote. 'They cannot see that this will serve us well, for ... if we begin it, all the powers will become involved.'

Brissot failed to appreciate that the queen viewed his tactics as strengthening her hand. He asserted that the monarchy did not want war. Madame Roland cautioned that the court was making fools of them – but her warning fell on deaf ears. In her memoirs she admitted that she had come to appreciate that Brissot was a political lightweight.

During the early stages of the debates between Brissot and Robespierre their relations continued to be courteous, if not warm, but matters took a downturn at the end of December, when Brissot called Robespierre's motives into question, saying that he was being divisive and should 'submit to the law'. Brissot depicted himself, by contrast, as a man of good faith and probity. On January 20th he stated: 'If I am deceived on the necessity for war at least it is in accordance with my conscience.' This was making a case for war based on Brissot's own



Above: *Marie Antoinette with a Rose*, by Elisabeth Louise Vigée-Lebrun, 1783.

Below: events of August 10th, 1792. 18th-century engraving.

integrity. Robespierre took offence at the insinuation that he himself was not committed to the public good and the conflict between the two men became increasingly personal.

The debate spilled over into the pages of the revolutionary press. Brissot's group controlled a number of newspapers, as well as the Corresponding Committee of the Jacobin Club, which handled communications with provincial Jacobins. Brissot's faction turned Robespierre's argument, that the French armies were unprepared to fight, against him, intimating that he was no patriot. One of Brissot's supporters, Louvet, denounced Robespierre on the floor of the Jacobins, saying that his opposition to war cloaked his political



Amid cries of: 'Live free or die', a new kind of revolution was born, one in which opponents were cast as traitors, 'the enemy within'



ambition to achieve personal power: 'You despair of the *patrie*, your doubts insult the nation ... You are almost alone, and almost alone ... you still hold in suspense the opinion of a great number of the people.' As Brissot's group became ever more dominant in the Jacobins, they tried to block Robespierre from speaking at all and he became an embattled and marginalised figure.

ROBESPIERRE'S remaining supporters retaliated in kind. The journalist, Jean-Paul Marat, another former friend of Brissot, now bitterly opposed to him, regularly attacked Brissot in his populist newspaper, *L'Ami du peuple*, claiming that Brissot's group was out for itself. Robespierre himself set up a new newspaper, *Le Défenseur de la Constitution*, partly to publicise his case against Brissot. But the most comprehensive attack appeared in February, with *Brissot Unmasked*, a pamphlet by Desmoulins, who used his insider's knowledge to mount a wickedly humorous discrediting of his former friend. Desmoulins claimed that Brissot was ready to sell himself to the highest bidder and to undermine the Revolution from within. Desmoulins satirised Brissot's penchant for dressing like an 'American Quaker', with his flat hair and round head, and compared him with the religious hypocrite, Tartuffe. Desmoulins

repeated an allegation that, even before the Revolution, Brissot's bad faith had been evident through his taking bribes to act as a spy for the police chief, Lenoir. Even Brissot's republicanism was used against him: wiser heads than his – including Robespierre – thought that a republic was not appropriate for France and would only endanger the Revolution and precipitate conflict. The pamphlet injured Brissot's reputation with radical Jacobins and militants on the streets of Paris, but his star was still in the ascendant at the Legislative Assembly, where the popular mood was to defy the foreign powers.

The heady atmosphere in the Assembly intensified on January 14th, when Gensonné declared to an enthusiastic audience that anyone who sought reconciliation with Austria by means of a diplomatic concert was guilty of 'treason against the nation': such a crime warranted the death penalty. Deputies, ministers, ushers, spectators (including women) all rose to swear an oath to maintain the constitution, amid cries of: 'Live free or die.' A new kind of revolution was born, one in which opponents were cast as traitors, 'the enemy within'.

ON MARCH 10TH Brissot denounced Delessart, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in the Assembly, accusing him of treason. Brissot admitted that he lacked substantive proof for this accusation, but maintained that 'moral proofs' were sufficient. One of the minister's offences had been to write to Leopold saying that France wanted peace in a way that Brissot maintained was humiliating: 'This thirst for peace is dishonouring for a nation that has been outraged, insulted by a prince who raises all the powers against her.' Brissot intimated that Delessart was part of the alleged Austrian conspiracy. Vergniaud followed Brissot and reinforced his message: to repeated applause he indicated the royal palace, whose windows were visible from the tribune, and issued an ominous warning:

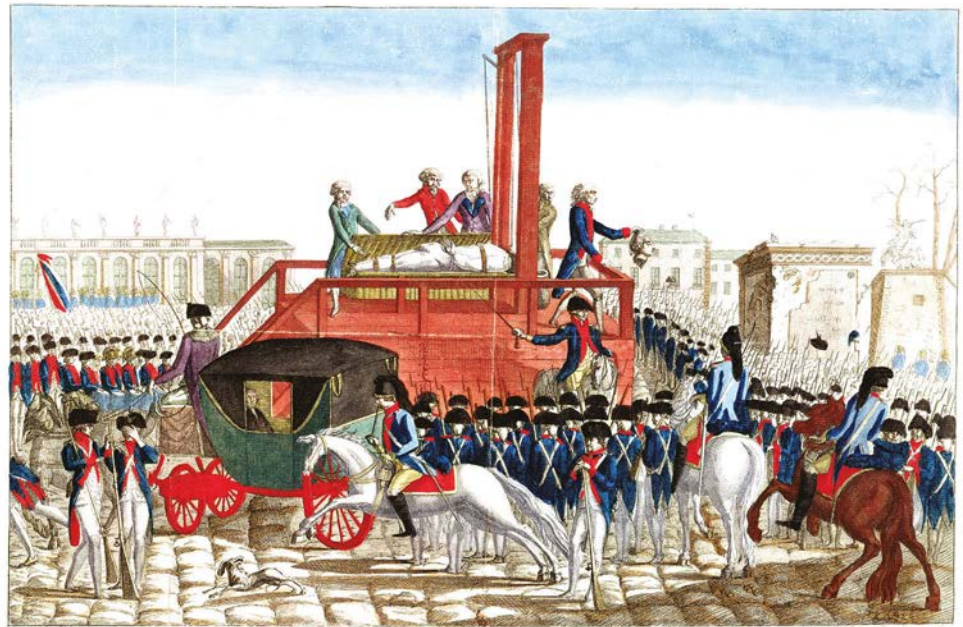
Let everyone who lives there know that we accord inviolability only to the king. Let them know that the law will fall without distinction on all the guilty, and that there will not be a single head, convicted of being criminal, which can escape its blade.

Brissot and Clavière prepared the formal act of accusation against Delessart. According to Dumont, he strongly disapproved of this document and told Brissot to his face that it consisted of vague, unsubstantiated and insidious allegations, designed to whip up hatred and prejudice against the disgraced minister. To Dumont's horror, Brissot laughed mockingly: 'It's a party tactic', he said. He explained to Dumont that such fabrications were necessary to outflank Robespierre's Jacobins, who wanted peace, and to prevent the king recalling Delessart, whom Brissot assumed would eventually be found not guilty. From that moment Dumont said that he 'no longer saw Brissot with the same eyes'. Dumont later wrote a damning account of Brissot's motives and what he had become:

Brissot was faithful to his party and faithless to probity. He manoeuvred through a kind of enthusiasm to which he was ready to sacrifice himself; and, because he felt in himself neither the desire for money nor ambition for place, he believed himself to be a pure and virtuous citizen ... He did not see that zeal for his party, love of power, hatred, and self-love are corrupters as dangerous as the thirst for gold, ministerial ambition and the taste for pleasures.

Delessart was sent for judgement on the basis of Brissot's indictment. He was subsequently murdered during the September Massacres, when groups of militants, fearful that invading armies were about to overrun Paris, killed 'counter-revolutionary' prisoners in Paris and Versailles. ►

As Brissot anticipated, the declaration of war led to a second revolution and the overthrow of the monarchy in France



The execution of Louis XVI on January 21st, 1793. 18th-century engraving.

BRISSOT REAPED THE rewards of his strategy by gaining the decisive voice in the formation of the new ministry to succeed that of Delessart. This became known as the ‘patriot’ or Girondin ministry. As a deputy, Brissot himself was barred from ministerial office, but his friends took key positions. Clavière was elevated to Minister of Finance, while Roland became Minister of the Interior. Servan, a favourite with Madame Roland, became Minister of War. The key appointment of Minister of Foreign Affairs went to Dumouriez, a close friend of Gensonné. Dumouriez’s alliance with Brissot’s group was tactical, rather than ideological: his interest lay in furthering his own military and political career. The Girondin ministry offered confirmation that Brissot and his friends were motivated by personal ambition and began the process that saw them move into the moderate camp, leaving the remaining Jacobins to lead the radical wing of the Revolution.

Leopold died in March and was succeeded by Francis II, who was only 24, more bellicose and less cautious than his father. The ascendancy of Brissot’s faction intensified the pressure for an immediate declaration of war. In the Assembly the leadership provided by this group influenced waverers and the risks involved in standing out against a tide of militarist rhetoric and in being identified as ‘unpatriotic’ brought almost all the rest on board. On April 20th, 1792 the 768 deputies of the Legislative Assembly voted overwhelmingly for France to declare war on Austria: only seven men resisted the pressure of their peers and voted against.

AS BRISSOT ANTICIPATED, the declaration of war led to a second revolution and the overthrow of the monarchy in France, but the fallout from these events went far beyond anything he had anticipated. Contrary to his expectations, France did not win the war in a matter of months. The conflict went badly and invading armies were soon threatening Paris. Popular fear and anger over the volatile situation led to renewed crisis.

Brissot, Madame Roland and their friends would be among the first victims of the legalised terror which was adopted by the Jacobins, largely in response to the war. When the war went badly, people looked to blame the Girondins, seeing them, not as irresponsible and incapable but, using the language of terror which the Girondins had done much to initiate, as the treacherous ‘enemy within’. The turning point came in March 1793 when Dumouriez, who was by then entrusted with the generalship of the revolutionary army, lost the Battle of Neerwinden. He responded by trying to lead the soldiers to overthrow revolutionary

government, before defecting to the émigrés. The Girondins had continued up to the last moment to give Dumouriez their trust and support and their association with him helped to condemn them.

Brissot has long been associated with political moderation. Yet, in the spring of 1792, buoyed up by his own conviction that he was right, he represented extremism versus Robespierre’s voice of caution. It may well be that Brissot believed his own rhetoric and thought that the French army would be welcomed abroad as ‘armed liberators’. But by choosing war, Brissot and the Girondins – whether they understood the risks or not – were taking a path towards internal terror.

Ironically, it was Robespierre, who had opposed war, who took on political leadership at the height of the conflict as a member of the Committee of Public Safety to defend the embattled Republic. Like Brissot, Robespierre would become a victim of the Terror that war unleashed. The total number of casualties of the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, military and civilian, French and non-French, amounted to several million, far more than died in the Terror, even if we take into account the civil war in the Vendée – which itself broke out as a rejection of mass conscription to fight in the revolutionary wars. Brissot envisaged none of that, nor could he be expected to. Yet for his recklessness in helping to precipitate a ‘crusade for liberty’, he bears a share of responsibility for the outbreak of a conflict that brought grief, misery and death to a generation of people in France and beyond.

Marisa Linton is Reader in History at Kingston University.

FURTHER READING

Marisa Linton, *Choosing Terror: Virtue, Friendship and Authenticity in the French Revolution* (Oxford University Press, 2015).

T.C.W. Blanning, *The Origins of the French Revolutionary Wars* (Longman, 1986).

William Doyle, *The Oxford History of the French Revolution* (Oxford University Press, 2002).

Eloise Ellery, *Brissot de Warville: A Study in the History of the French Revolution* (AMS Press, 1970).

Peter McPhee, *Robespierre: a Revolutionary Life* (Yale, 2012).

Beautiful Rockingham Castle, perched atop an escarpment and geographically sitting due east of Market Harborough, has dominated the Welland Valley for almost a thousand years. Built during the reign of William the Conqueror (probably c1068-71), and owned by the Crown for nearly 500 years, the Castle is now in the safe hands of the Saunders Watson family who have also owned the Castle for the most recent 500 years.

Edward Watson leased the castle from the crown in 1544, and constructed most of the buildings in the main courtyard. His

son was knighted (1603) and his grandson Lewis, created a baronet in 1621, became a prominent royal courtier and bought the castle from James I in 1617. In 1643 it was captured by local parliamentary troops who caused much damage, blowing up the keep with gunpowder. The Watsons rose to become earls of Rockingham (1714-46), but from the late 17th century they preferred to live on their Kentish estates so Rockingham became a relative backwater. The castle was reinvigorated in 1839 under Richard Watson and his wife Lavinia. They were close friends of Charles Dickens, who

dedicated David Copperfield to them, and memories of Rockingham visits are evident in Bleak House.

The atmospheric grounds contain a striking 17th Century yew hedge, a colourful rose garden in the old keep, and a wild garden with over 200 species of trees and shrubs. The old tilting lawn annually hosts modern Vikings; and the park is currently the venue for the Rockingham International Horse Trials.

Basil Morgan
Archivist

EVENTS

JOUSTING

Sunday 21st June 2015

The brave knights of Nottingham ask for the honour to host you at their favourite venue, Rockingham Castle. These chivalrous gentlemen will compete at jousting whilst others will come from the middle ages for your entertainment. Jesters and storytellers will delight old and young alike.

VIKINGS

Bank Holiday Weekend

Sunday 30th & Monday 31st August

Only the most sincere and forthright of all the Vikings have made it to Rockingham and are preparing for their most audacious raid. If witnessing their most aggressive battle is too much for you then go to their tented encampment and watch the blacksmiths forge their weapons and mint their coins and the apothecaries concoct their ancient medicines.

STUDY DAY

Wednesday 9th September 2015

The Study Day will involve four lectures: two general ones, on the Castle's history; the Crown and early Watsons (c.1068-1640); and the later Culme-Seymours, interspersed with two more specialised lectures on the Castle during the Civil War and on Charles Dickens' friendship with the mid-Victorian Watsons.

Included will be two guided tours of the interior and exterior either side of lunch.

The lecturers, David Shipton and Basil Morgan, are respectively the Head Guide and the Archivist at the Castle. They both read History at Oxford University and taught History and History of Art/Architecture together at Uppingham School for many years.

DICKENS EVENING

Monday 28th September 2015

A special literary evening will take place to celebrate Dickens and his works. Charles Dickens has both literary and personal connections to Rockingham Castle. He was a great friend of Richard and Lavinia Watson, whom he met whilst on holiday in Switzerland, and as a result he frequently visited Rockingham. As a mark of his appreciation he dedicated David Copperfield to the family. His novel Bleak House is also inspired by Rockingham and he staged various plays in the Panel Room and Long Gallery.

VICTORIAN CHRISTMAS

Monday 16th to

Friday 20th November 2015

'Twas the night before Christmas...' in 1881 and the house is being prepared for the family Christmas. The butler has prepared the household, the footman has lit the fire, the maids have polished and dusted and the cook has prepared a sumptuous Christmas feast. Meet the household as they guide you

around the Castle then stay for mulled wine, a mince pie or a festive lunch. Afterwards, gifts and presents await you at the Gift Shop which will be open for you to purchase Christmas.

PARK EVENTS

DOG AGILITY FESTIVAL

Thursday 13th to Sunday 16th August 2015

The top athletic stars of the canine world will be competing in this international festival, so come and support them.

Unlock the sporting potential of your dog and coach them through the 'have a go' ring. There is also the companion dog show and 'scruffs' competition.

THE ROCKINGHAM FAIR

Saturday 26th and

Sunday 27th September 2015

Set in the beautiful grounds of Rockingham Castle, this family country show with all day entertainment including birds of prey a flying display, totally ponies, Nuneaton Dog Display Team and so much more. On Sunday we host our companion dog show in support of Marie Curie Cancer Care - so bring along a canine friend and have a go! Cookery demonstrations take place in the marquee throughout the weekend, hosted by master chef, Ondine Hartgoves.



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Medieval Fatherhood

The 'hands-on' parenting style, so often thought to be unique to modern western society, has deep roots in the family life of the Middle Ages, argues **Rachel Moss**.

FATHERS MATTER. That is the message given by psychologists and sociologists, by government think tanks and by grassroots organisations, such as Families Need Fathers. Recent research suggests that good relationships between fathers and their offspring result in higher educational attainment, greater emotional well-being and fewer behavioural problems. Some researchers believe that fathers' involvement in their children's lives is at an all-time high; one child psychiatrist, Kyle Pruett, claimed in 2008 that 'the number of men interested in co-parenting is higher than it's ever been', reflecting an increasing interest among men

The Ages of Man: illustration from *Le Livre des Propriétés des Choses* by Barthélemy Anglais, 15th century.

in playing a hands-on, nurturing role in their children's lives.

Whether it reflects nostalgia for the supposed 'golden age' of the nuclear family or offers an optimistic reading for the future role of fathers, what modern commentary on fatherhood tends to lack is historical perspective. For example, much current anxiety about fatherhood is related to paternal absenteeism. This is seen as a uniquely modern problem because of the rise in households led by single mothers resulting from changing social attitudes to both sex outside marriage and to divorce. But in medieval England, for example, high mortality rates meant that ▶

many children grew up without their biological fathers. Higher status women, who generally had longer life expectancies than their male counterparts, were highly desirable on the marriage market as widows with property. According to research by the historian Barbara Harris, the vast majority of aristocratic widows remarried. Their children would often share domestic space with new step-siblings, as well as in due course with half-brothers and sisters. Meanwhile, the realities of aristocratic life in the medieval and early modern periods meant that very often fathers were away from home – at war, on crusade, in service to the king – for extensive periods of time, leaving the running of the household in the capable hands of their wives. The expectation that the average household is made up of married biological parents to 2.4 children is quite a modern notion. This is not to deny the impact of paternal absence on children's lives; current research indicates that it can have profound consequences. We simply must be wary of assuming that contemporary concerns about fatherhood are uniquely modern.

What modern commentary on fatherhood tends to lack is historical perspective

In 1922 H.S. Bennett confidently asserted that 'the common attitude of [medieval] parents towards their children was astonishingly cold'. Since then, scholars like Nikki Stiller have demonstrated that motherhood in the Middle Ages was warm and involved. Medieval fatherhood, however, is still depicted as autocratic and uninterested. Fathers supposedly played little part in the day-to-day lives of their children and were mostly interested in them in order to assert their paternal authority and to consolidate their patrilineage. This does not match up with the evidence of both real and fictional fathers in medieval England, who have been overshadowed by long-standing assumptions about the nature of medieval family life. Central to the father-child relationship were mutual respect and affection, as can be seen in two examples of 15th-century fathers taking walks with their sons.

Father's vital role

Actively involved fathers help their sons negotiate the tricky transition between adolescence and adulthood. Adolescence was a recognised life stage for medieval people and here they also considered that fathers had a vital role in helping their sons grow up into responsible adults.

'Sir, our father and I came together in the new orchard last Friday, and he asked me many questions of you', Richard Cely began a letter to his younger brother George in June 1481 and proceeded to tell him how, over a walk, he and his father had discussed the death of George's illegitimate child and a prospective match between George and the sister of his close friend, John Dalton. Sons of a prosperous London wool merchant, the Cely brothers were in their early 20s – still adolescents in medieval terms. The Cely letter collection takes us from when George was in his late teens, attending dancing lessons and having affairs with lower-status women, to his death in his mid-30s as a settled, married father-of-five. The letter from Richard makes it clear that their father, also Richard, was not only concerned for George's marital prospects – he warmly welcomed the idea of the marriage – but was also 'right sorry'

for the death of George's baby, who, as the bastard offspring of his son's affair with a serving woman, might have been assumed to be beyond the interest of a respectable merchant.

Despite being a rather anxious and officious businessman, several letters from Richard senior make it clear that he put his son's welfare above profit. George was on business in Bruges in 1479 when he was struck down by a serious illness. Several anxious letters from his father follow, including one that instructed George to do what his physicians recommended; Richard senior would 'rather my money not be received until another time than you labour yourself and not be healthy'. Richard junior, meanwhile, wrote to George to let him know that his mother and father were praying for him daily and reiterated his father's request that George not return to work until he was whole. Three years later it was Richard senior's turn to fall ill and for George anxiously to await news from his brother, though unfortunately in this case recovery never came. Their father died in 1482 and a letter from John Dalton recorded George's 'great heaviness' of spirit.

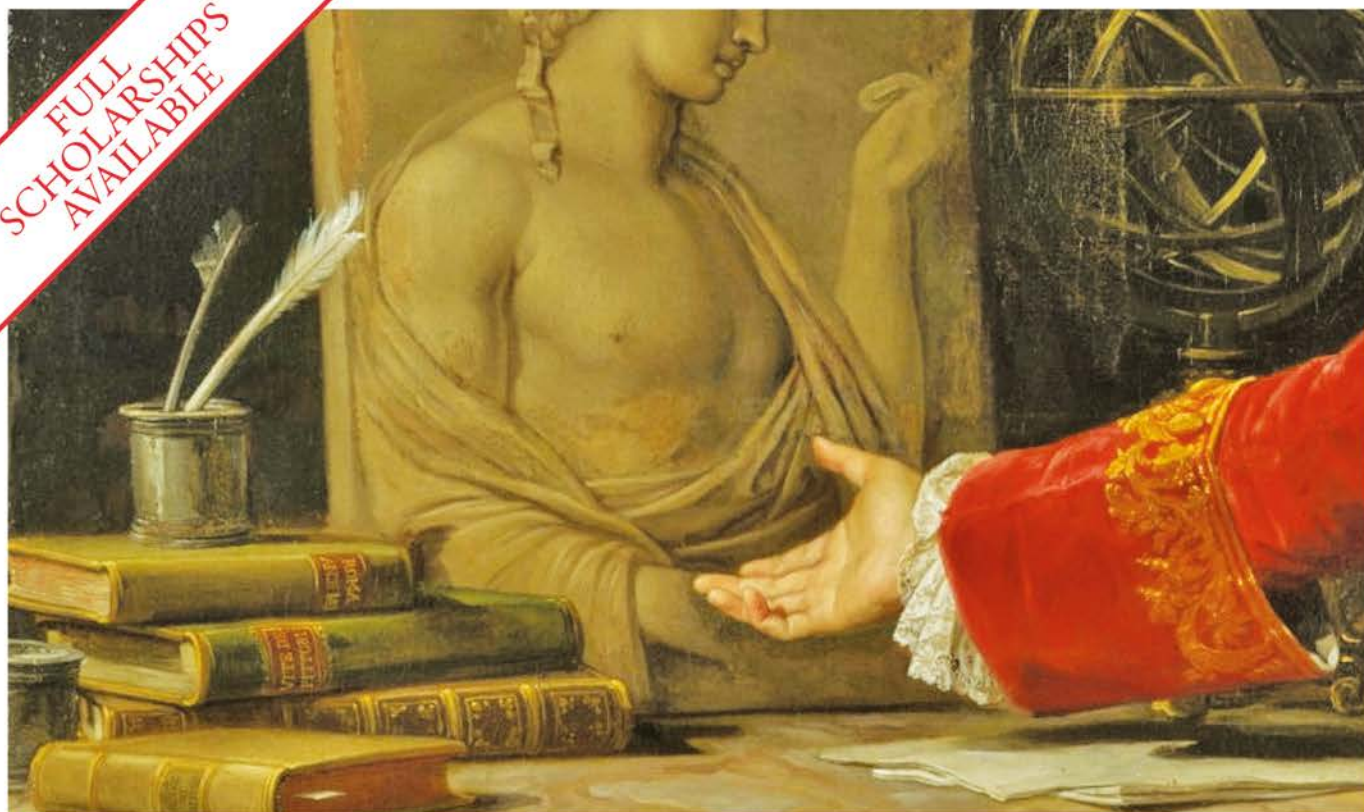
Walking together

Father and son Thomas and William Stonor were Oxfordshire gentlemen who may have been acquaintances of the Cely family. Their letters do not show the easy affection found in the Cely correspondence, but they were encouraged to take a walk together, much as the Celys did in order to enjoy some father-son bonding time. In 1472 Thomas Mull advised his master Thomas Stonor that he should ask William to 'go with you when he is at home with you, and let him walk with you, and give him words of good comfort, and be a good father to him, as I certainly know you are'. The reason for this advice was that William's marriage negotiations with a lady called Margery Blount had recently failed and he was apparently a little depressed over it. Interestingly enough, it was Thomas Stonor who had broken off the negotiations – he was responsible for establishing the financial terms of the match and he found the demands for Margery's jointure (a maintenance sum in the event of her husband's death) to be too high. This, too, was part of being a good father: he had to look after William's emotional welfare but he also had to think of the family's financial security. Did William appreciate the way Thomas was a 'good father'? It is hard to say for sure, but once over this romantic disappointment he not only went on to make a successful marriage to a wealthy widow but also negotiated a marriage for his step-daughter with the same attention to her financial and emotional comfort as his father had shown him.

There can be no doubt that medieval English fathers exerted greater moral, social and legal control over their children than most fathers do today. Yet, although the law protected them, men were still concerned about being good fathers. Richard Cely thanked God for the safe delivery of his son from life-threatening illness 536 years ago. Three years later, George grieved so bitterly in the wake of his father's death that his friend feared he would hurt himself. Then, as much as now, fathers mattered.

Rachel Moss is Lecturer in Late Medieval History at the University of Oxford and a Leverhulme Early Career Fellow.

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The Mighty MacCailean Mór

No Scottish clan is as controversial as the Campbells. Yet, says **Ian Bradley**, the opening of its Argyll Mausoleum offers a chance to re-assess a contentious past.

THE RECENT RESTORATION and opening to the public of one of Scotland's most intriguing and long-hidden buildings provides an opportunity to re-assess the achievements of a clan that has provoked more controversy and animosity than any other.

The Argyll Mausoleum, a strange circular structure that stands behind the parish church at Kilmun on the Holy Loch in the Cowal peninsula north of Dunoon, houses the bodies of virtually all the chiefs of the Clan Campbell who died between 1453 and 1949. It is difficult to think of any other building which encapsulates the history of a leading family over five centuries so powerfully and evocatively. The inscriptions on its tombs, which have hitherto been sealed up and hidden from public view, and the stories

told of successive earls and dukes of Argyll in the excellent museum, which has been established in the entrance area of the adjacent church, bring to life the exploits and ethos of the clan that long dominated the religious, political and cultural life of the West Highlands and Islands of Scotland and had an influence far beyond that region.

The Campbells could certainly do with some good publicity. They have not had a good press, perhaps inevitably considering their power and also because they have had their share of black sheep and have sometimes shown arrogance and insensitivity. The unpopularity of the Campbell lairds of Jura, whose hold over the island lasted from 1666 to 1938, is perpetuated in the name of the most expensive and long matured Jura single malt whisky. It is called ▶

The Argyll
Mausoleum,
Kilmun.

CAMPBELLS

Prophecy, after the prediction of an elderly woman that the line would eventually come to an end with a one-eyed man leaving the island on a white horse. In the event, the personal possessions of the last laird, Charles Campbell, who had a glass eye, were carried to the pier at Craighouse in a cart drawn by a white horse.

If anti-Campbell sentiment is now used to sell whisky, it has a long pedigree. Historians have sniped at the clan and its leaders for their slippery duplicity, helped by the fact that the Gaelic word *Cambeul* means a wry or twisted mouth. In his monumental 1837 study of the Highlanders of Scotland, W.F. Skene wrote that the Clan Campbell was built on 'a policy characterised by cunning and perfidy'. In 1938 Hector MacKechnie castigated 'the sleekit Campbells, who combined claymore and parchment as never Celts

The Campbells were imbued with both principle and a deeply felt Scottish patriotism in their project to fuse Gaelic and British identity

before and encroached on all their neighbours'. Dislike of the Campbells has, of course, been especially prevalent among the MacDonalds, whose long animosity against the clan that ousted them from their dominant position in the West Highlands and Islands reached its height in the aftermath of the infamous and shameful massacre of Glencoe in 1692. A recent booklet on Iona Abbey, written by an Australian-based member of the Clan Donald, accuses the Campbells of seeking to play down and indeed obliterate the MacDonalds' contribution to the religious life of Argyll in the later Middle Ages. The cover of another book about the struggle between the two clans in the mid-17th century, Ronald Williams' *The Heather and the Gale* (1997), blames the Campbells for 'that fatal confrontation wherein Gaeldom, Catholicism and the king were eventually overwhelmed by Calvinism and bloody revolution'. These are just two examples among many in which the Campbells are portrayed as un-Scottish, inimical to and destructive of the culture and religion of the Gaels and altogether too attached to the court and to Lowland ways.

CAMPBELLS WERE undoubtedly involved in atrocities, although no more than several other clans. They were undoubtedly ambitious, but they also made a hugely positive contribution to the spiritual, political and cultural life of Argyll, not least in its Gaelic aspects. This contribution has recently been recognised by several scholars who have defended the Campbells against their many critics. Stephen Boardman has questioned the validity of some of the MacDonalds' allegations in an important revisionist study of the clan in the Middle Ages, *The Campbells 1250-1513* (2006). Jane Dawson has argued that the clan played a notably positive role in the Scottish Reformation and Martin MacGregor has demonstrated how the Campbells were imbued with both principle and a deeply felt Scottish patriotism in their project to fuse Gaelic and British identity.

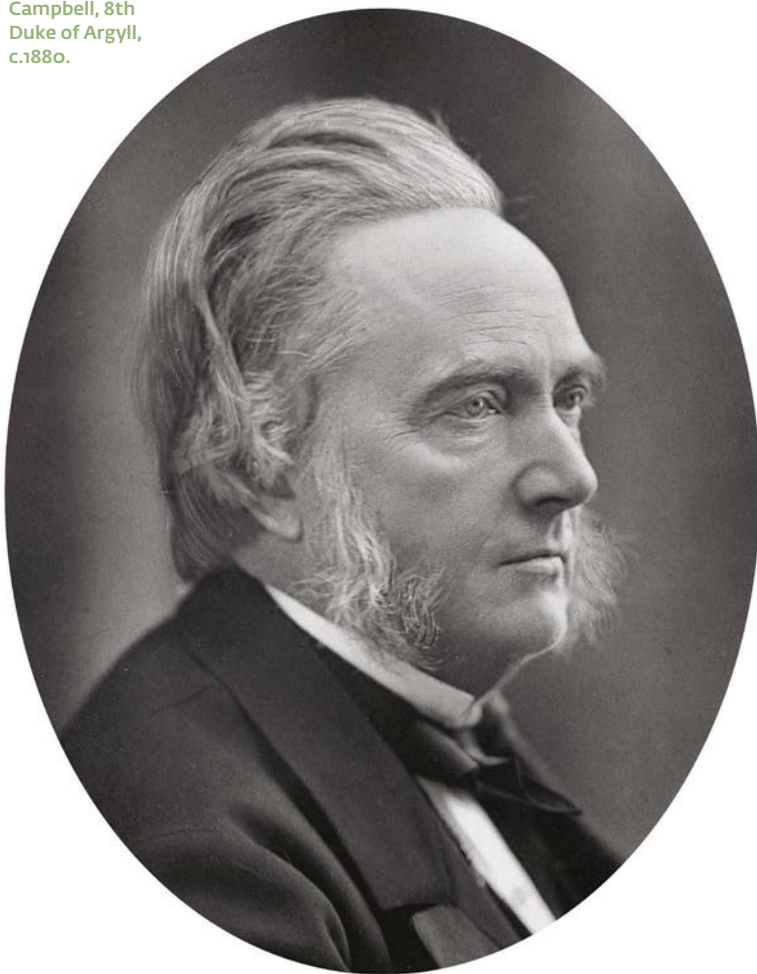
Like so much in Highland history, the origins of the



Top: Tomb of the 12th Duke of Argyll on the island of Inishail, Loch Awe.

Campbells are shrouded in misty legend and romance. Genealogies produced in the 17th century, by which time the clan was firmly ensconced in its ascendancy over Argyll, trace its origins to Diarmaid O'Duibne, a companion of Finn MacCoull, giving it Irish Gaelic ancestry. In Fingalian legend, Diarmaid eloped with Finn's wife, Gráinne. He died after slaying a wild boar and standing barefoot on its bristles, which had been poisoned by Finn. This may explain why a boar's head features prominently on the Campbell coat of arms. There is a fine example of this symbol among the funeral accoutrements that languished in the Argyll Mausoleum and are now displayed in the new museum in Kilmun Church. As the Campbells developed their hold on

George Douglas Campbell, 8th Duke of Argyll, c.1880.



granted the title of Bailie of Loch Awe and Ardscothenish by Edward I in the mid-1290s. He was killed around 1296 in an ambush by the MacDougalls, who were strong opponents of the English crown. Subsequent Campbell clan chiefs have styled themselves MacCailean Mór to signify their descent from him.

The Campbells built up their land and power in Argyll in the early 1300s, thanks largely to their association with Robert Bruce. They continued to grow in power and prestige through the 14th and 15th centuries as a result of their support for Bruce's successors. Appointed hereditary royal lieutenants with vice-regal powers, they became the principal agents of royal authority in the Western Highlands and Islands and, to an extent unequalled by any other clan, managed to combine the roles of Gaelic potentates and major figures at the Lowland Scottish Court.

N PRIDE OF PLACE in the Argyll Mausoleum is the newly restored effigy of Duncan Campbell, who around 1440 was either granted or simply adopted the title of Lord Campbell of Lochawe, and his wife Marjory. The collegiate church which he founded at Kilmun in 1441 became the clan's ecclesiastical centre and the burial place of its chiefs for the next 500 years. It is not entirely clear why he chose to extend the existing small church on the north shore of the Holy Loch for this purpose. It may have been that it was already a holy place to which pilgrims were coming because of its association with St Munn, an Irish missionary monk contemporary with Columba. This choice of location almost certainly also reflected the southward shift in the Campbells' sphere of power and influence from the Loch Awe area to mid-Argyll and Cowal, which led around the same time to the use of Dunoon Castle as a stronghold and the establishment of Inveraray as the main clan base.

All that now remains of the mid-15th century Collegiate Church is its tower, which is thought to have been where the provost and chaplains lived. The building was badly damaged in 1646 during the Covenanting Wars by the pro-royalist Lamonts, traditional enemies of the Campbells, who laid siege to the tower in which around a hundred local inhabitants had taken refuge. After enticing out those huddled inside with a promise that they would be allowed to leave in safety, the Lamonts slaughtered over 35 men, women and children on the loch shore and set light to the building. The scorch marks and cracked stones resulting from this action can still be seen on the inside of the tower, now standing in a semi-ruined state adjacent to Kilmun Church, which was rebuilt in 1688 and then again in 1841.



Left to Right: The Galley of Lorne; view inside the Mausoleum; detail of the newly restored effigy of Duncan Campbell, Lord Campbell of Loch Awe and his wife, Marjory.

Argyll, the ancient Gaelic heartland of Dál Riata, and sought to establish their claim to headship of the Gaels in succession to the MacDonald Lords of the Isles, they further emphasised their Irish/Gaelic roots. The 8th Duke of Argyll confidently wrote in 1887 of 'the purely Celtic family from which I descended – a family of Scoto-Irish origin – Stephen Boardman that is to say, belonging to that Celtic colony from Ireland which founded the Dalriadic kingdom, and to whom the name of Scots originally belonged'.

In fact, the Campbells were probably British in origin, with their roots in the old kingdom of Strathclyde. The first of the family who can definitely be associated with Argyll was Colin, known as Cailean Mór, who appears to have been

FOR 200 YEARS OR SO Campbell chiefs were buried under the floor of the church that Duncan Campbell had built and endowed. By the early 17th century, however, there were reports of an unpleasant stench from their decomposing bodies and in 1669 the 9th Earl of Argyll built a private burial chapel adjoining the north wall of the church. In 1795 it was rebuilt and extended as a mausoleum, being further refurbished in 1892 by John, Marquess of Lorne and later 9th Duke of Argyll. He replaced the slated roof with a cast-iron dome with 12 skylights, making the interior surprisingly light and airy and banishing the gloomy and dejected atmosphere that had troubled him when he first visited it. Small vaults were built to contain the coffins of the Dukes of Argyll, each with a marble tablet set in front, ►



Top: Memorial window to the 8th Duke of Argyll, Southend Parish Church, Argyll. Left: Detail of window featuring the Galley of Lorne.

with substantial platforms above them providing plenty of room for future burials. High on the walls above these platforms are fine carvings of the Galley Of Lorne, the symbol of the ancient Norse kingdom of the Isles, which is a prominent device in the Campbell coat of arms. An inscription on one side reads: 'Their sail is furled, their voyage o'er/Their souls have reached Christ's holy shore' and on the other: 'Our race forget not those of yore/God takes the load of life they bore.'

Beneath the mausoleum's stone floor are thought to lie the remains of the earls of Argyll which were originally buried under the church floor. The earliest, Duncan's grandson and successor, Colin, chief from 1453 to 1493, was created Earl of Argyll by James II of Scotland in 1457 and in 1469 he acquired through marriage the Lordship of Lorne, a title which brought the Galley of Lorne into the Campbell coat of arms. Like his predecessors, he was appointed royal lieutenant with vice-regal authority over much of mainland Argyll and its adjacent islands. The appointment of his son, Archibald, the 2nd Earl, as Lieutenant of the Isles gave official sanction to the Campbells' triumph over the MacDonalds, who had forfeited their title and power as Lords of the Isles in 1493. Thereafter the Campbells effectively assumed the headship of the Gaels throughout the West Highlands and Islands. Colin, the 3rd Earl of Argyll and clan chief from 1513 to 1529, was a notable patron of humanist scholars and did much to preserve Gaelic literature and culture, notably through supporting the compilation of the *Book of the Dean of Lismore*, the most important manuscript in the history of Gaelic verse in Scotland.

THE CAMPBELLS enthusiastically embraced the doctrines of the Protestant Reformers, which swept across Scotland in the mid-16th century. Archibald, 4th Earl of Argyll, was the first of the Scottish nobility to embrace the Reformation. Prominent among the lords of the congregation who signed the first open declaration in support of the Protestant cause in 1557, the following year, on his deathbed, he solemnly charged his son and heir, another Archibald, to forward the cause of reformed religion. The 5th Earl, who was a close friend and supporter of John Knox, duly put himself at the head of the Protestant movement in Scotland and was in no small measure responsible for its triumph in 1560. Jane Dawson has shown how the Campbells as a whole played a crucial role in establishing the Protestant Kirk throughout and beyond Argyll on the basis of a formidable patronage network and ties of kinship and family allegiance.

A simple brass cross on the floor of the mausoleum marks the presumed place of burial of the skeleton and severed head of Archibald, 8th Earl and first and only Marquess of Argyll, who was a leading figure in the ultra-Presbyterian Covenanted movement, which fiercely opposed Charles I's efforts to impose bishops and Anglican liturgy on the Scottish Kirk. He also led the Covenanted forces into battle in the so-called Bishops' Wars (1639-40) and subsequently in the early stages of the British Civil Wars. Following the restoration of Charles II, he was beheaded in 1661 and hailed as a Presbyterian martyr. A somewhat macabre exhibit in the new museum invites visitors to put a coin in the slot and watch an eerie apparition of his grisly remains. Beside it is this poetic epitaph:



*Unfortunate Archibald, Earl number eight,
Lost his head in a gruesome fate.
His body was buried – but his head followed later,
Displayed on a spike for three years as a traitor.*

The 9th Earl, also called Archibald, was equally committed to the defence of Protestantism against absolutist monarchy. Exiled to Holland in 1681, he set sail from there in 1685 with three heavily armed ships to raise a rebellion in Scotland against the staunchly Catholic James VII and II. Timed to coincide with the Duke of Monmouth's rising in the south-west of England, it led to skirmishes across Argyll before petering out. Forced to retreat, he gave himself up following a battle on the south bank of the Clyde and was subsequently beheaded, like his father, in Edinburgh.

Fortunes improved for the Campbells with the deposition of James VII and II in the Glorious Revolution of 1689. Archibald, the 10th Earl of Argyll, was among those nobles

who went to Holland to offer the Scottish crown to William and Mary. He was rewarded for his support by being created the first Duke of Argyll in 1701. Throughout the 18th century the Campbells remained staunchly loyal to the Hanoverians and opposed to the Jacobite Pretenders to the throne. They were also firm enthusiasts for the union of the parliaments of England and Scotland. Archibald's son, John, the 2nd Duke of Argyll, was instrumental in persuading the Scottish parliament to open negotiations on the Treaty of Union with England and he was one of the chief protagonists on the Scottish side in the negotiations which led to the 1707 Act of Union. The only one of the 18th- and 19th-century Dukes of Argyll not to be laid to rest in the mausoleum at Kilmun, he was buried in Westminster Abbey.

A RECENT biography by Roger Emerson, *An Enlightened Duke* (2013), has raised the profile and reputation of Archibald, the 3rd Duke of Argyll, who has been described by Alexander Murdoch in his *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* entry as 'the personification of Unionist Scotland in the first half century after the Union' and 'the father of the Scottish Enlightenment'. An assiduous and generous patron of leading philosophers and liberal theologians, he was particularly supportive of the Moderate movement in the mid-18th century Church of Scotland, which sought to embrace Enlightenment ideas and challenge conservative evangelicals in the Kirk. Patrick Cuming, a leading Moderate who was three times Moderator of the Church's General Assembly, was almost wholly dependent for his influence on the duke's patronage.

Undoubtedly the most significant figure to be buried in the Kilmun Mausoleum in terms of British public life is George Douglas Campbell, who was 8th Duke of Argyll for the whole of

the second half of the 19th century. A remarkable polymath, who served as a cabinet minister in every Whig and Liberal Government between 1852 and 1881, he was a distinguished amateur philosopher, theologian, naturalist and geologist, as well as a talented poet and painter, and exemplified the intellectual, liberal and mystical Presbyterian faith that characterised many Campbells in the 18th and 19th centuries. He staunchly defended the Presbyterian Church of Scotland against the Episcopalian preferences of Gladstone, with whom he fell out over Home Rule, joining the Liberal Unionists in 1881. He was devoted to the history and religious heritage of Argyll and was responsible for preserving the fabric of Iona Abbey, which had been in a ruined and derelict state since soon after the Reformation. Shortly before his death in 1900 he relinquished ownership of all the ecclesiastical buildings on Iona and handed them over to a trust linked to the Church of Scotland. It was charged with re-roofing and restoring the abbey church so ►

Clockwise: Bronze statue of Christ and the Angel, believed to be a tribute from Princess Louise, daughter of Queen Victoria, to her father-in-law, the 8th Duke of Argyll; Archibald Campbell, 1st Marquess of Argyll by David Scougall, 17th-century; boar's head funeral effigy in the Argyll Mausoleum.

that it could be used for public worship and with preserving and, where appropriate, restoring the other buildings. The trustees were also enjoined to allow all branches of the Christian church to hold services within the restored sanctuary.

The 8th Duke's third wife, Ina, wanted her husband to be buried on Iona but his will specified that he was to be laid to rest with his ancestors at Kilmun. After his death in Inveraray in 1900, she removed his heart and preserved it in a pickling jar. It is said to have been taken to Iona and placed

The legacy of the Campbells, formidably clever and passionately Presbyterian, will always be controversial

under his effigy in the abbey when it was constructed in 1912. An adjoining effigy was placed over her tomb after her death in 1925. Among the objects removed from the Argyll Mausoleum and now on display in the adjacent museum is a fine sculpture of an angel lifting Christ from the cross, which was made, possibly as a tribute to her father-in-law, by Princess Louise, daughter of Queen Victoria, wife of the 8th Duke's son, John, Marquess of Lorne, who succeeded his father, becoming 9th Duke in 1900 and dying in 1914.

THE LAST DUKE OF ARGYLL to be buried at Kilmun was the bachelor 10th Duke, Niall, who died in 1949. He was steeped in the legends and folklore of Argyll and unusually open to supernatural experience. He claimed to see the Galley of Lorne, crewed by the spirits of his ancestors, passing above Loch Fyne on its aerial journey to the original Campbell heartland of Loch Awe. On summer evenings he would often go down to the River Aray and blow a horn to summon 'the wee people'. He firmly believed in fairies,

believing them to be 'the spirits of a race of men who ages ago lived in earth mounds, which are what they frequent' and describing them as 'little green things which peer at you from behind trees, as squirrels do, and disappear into the earth'.

The two most recent dukes of Argyll have been buried on the island of Inishail in Loch Awe, the ancient Campbell heartland. In the case of the 11th Duke, who died in 1973, this is said to be because he did not want to lie close to the US Polaris submarines which were then stationed in the Holy Loch just a few hundred yards away from Kilmun Church. He is commemorated by a high-standing Celtic cross on the edge of the ancient graveyard. The 12th Duke, who died in 2001, is buried in a railed enclosure in long grass beyond the graveyard. His massive tombstone, with his name 'Ian' engraved in large letters below a boar's head, is already overgrown and looks somewhat forlorn, a reminder that even the mighty MacCailean Mór is mortal.

THE LEGACY OF the Campbells will always be controversial. Formidably clever and passionately Presbyterian, they were firmly committed to forwarding the cause of enlightened Protestantism in Scotland as a whole and the West Highlands in particular. They have left their footprint across Argyll in the neat, ordered, planned towns which they created, notably Campbeltown, Inveraray and the smaller townships of Bowmore and Port Ellen on Islay. Their symmetrical grid structure, white-painted buildings and prominent kirks breathe the atmosphere of clean, ordered Presbyterian decorum. The loyalty of the earls and dukes of Argyll to the Kirk, their support for scholarly, moderate, open-minded ministers, their patronage of Gaelic learning, their interest in folklore and their strongly mystical bent have played a major role in making Argyll Presbyterianism very different from the hard-edged and rigidly Calvinist faith to the north and west and the drier more rational religion to the east and south.

At a time when nationalist sentiments are in the ascendant, the Campbells' strong support for the Union and the Crown, their Anglicising tendencies and endeavours to bring Lowland influences into the Highlands are unlikely to win them much favour. Yet the work of recent historians has demonstrated that they were thoroughly committed to the Gaelic language and culture of the West Highlands and were far from being the alien, unpatriotic lairds that they have so often been portrayed as by their enemies. They will always be controversial but the opening up of the Argyll Mausoleum will allow many to discover more and make their own minds up about this most remarkable family.

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Ian Campbell, 11th Duke of Argyll, and Margaret Campbell, Duchess of Argyll, April, 1952.



FURTHER READING

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THERE ARE SOME EVENTS which, because they lack high drama or obvious significance, tend to receive scant attention in history books but, on closer examination, prove to have been of great consequence. The failure of Archbishop Cranmer's enemies to ensure his destruction in the autumn of 1543 is one such. The story ends in anticlimax. The conspiracy against him had been well-planned, involved several agents and seemed to be on the verge of success. Then, at the 11th hour, Henry VIII intervened and it was all over. What has been called the 'Prebendaries Plot' was a flop and, therefore, has been accorded just a wry footnote in some accounts of the king's final years. It is only if we pause to ask ourselves 'What if' that we truly grasp the monumental significance of Cranmer's escape. The failure of the conspiracy bought Cranmer another dozen years of life, years that saw the archbishop set up the theology and liturgy of the reformed English church.

If the forces of Catholic reaction had triumphed in 1543 the politics of Henry's last years and the brief reign of the young Edward VI would have been very different. It is unlikely that England would have become a Protestant state. Mary Tudor, coming to the throne in 1553, would have had little difficulty in returning her realm to papal obedience. And Elizabeth I? Lacking the zeal of her half-brother and his evangelical councillors, it is unlikely that she would have rekindled the fires of religious revolution. So, there is ample reason to take a closer look at the Prebendaries Plot.

Unstoppable team

In the 1530s the reform movement had been led by Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Cranmer: the former giving the forces of change legislative teeth, the latter providing the theological meat for them to chew on. They had seemed unstoppable. Then the fiasco of Henry's marriage to Anne of Cleves gave the Catholic clique the opportunity for a counter-attack. Cromwell's fall in July 1540 was sudden and complete. One charge against him was that he was an extremist religious radical and a supporter of known heretics. Over the ensuing months the Catholic group on the council, led by Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester and Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, made the most of their advantage. They took every opportunity to block moves by Cranmer and his supporters to press on with the work of reform. There are various schools of thought about how appropriate it is to think of the sick and aged king as being manipulated by 'court factions', but there is no doubt that two activist groups were now emerging with radically different visions for the future of the realm.

For his support Cranmer could look to members of Henry's intimate inner circle, such as the Earl of Hertford, Prince Edward's grandfather, the royal physician, Sir William Butts, and the head of the privy chamber, Sir Anthony Denny, as well as lesser members of the household carefully placed in position by Cromwell before his



Purifying spirit: Thomas Cranmer, portrait by Gerlach Flicke, 1546.

With the storm raging all around him, Cranmer seems to have continued serenely

fall. To counter this the conservatives tightened their grip on the Privy Council. In order to prevent an 'over-mighty subject' ever again holding supreme power, this body re-invented itself. By adopting a new constitution it became a committee whose collective decisions carried ultimate authority under the Crown. Cranmer was a member of this body but was in no position to dominate its proceedings. For 16 months there was a period of calm at the political centre. Gardiner was away most of the time on a diplomatic mission. The court was much taken up with the celebrations of Henry's fifth marriage, to the vivacious Catherine Howard (Norfolk's niece), and with preparations for

Cranmer's close shave

Derek Wilson explores the Prebendaries Plot against Henry VIII's reforming archbishop.

Archbishop's seat:
Lambeth Palace,
engraving by
Johannes Kip,
after Leonard
Knyff, c.1650.



Henry, out for a trip on the river, summoned Cranmer to join him. He produced the evidence gathered against the archbishop

a royal tour of the North (from June to November 1541). This does not mean that the politico-religious conflict was over. As Diarmaid McCulloch explains, the conservatives began 'nibbling again at the edges of the Cranmer circle' in December 1540. Pulpit wars continued in various locales and Bishop Bonner began a purge of people suspected of being in breach of the Act of Six Articles, which demanded obedience to major Catholic doctrine.

But vigilant friends of reform were equally active. These were days when anyone expressing strong religious views of any kind ran the risk of being informed against and arrested: as a suspected heretic if tending towards the New Learning or a covert papist traitor if defending the old. This perilous game was fought with increasing fervour, with the monarch playing the role of reluctant referee, halting play or allowing it to continue according to his interpretation of the rules. In the summer of 1541 the conservative group had the run of the ball.

Howard own goal

Then, when the king was touring the northern counties showing off his attractive young bride, the Howard clan scored a spectacular own goal. Evidence was produced that the queen had been foolishly cuckolding her husband. Cranmer played a leading role in unmasking her adulteries and for this Norfolk never forgave him. The hatred between

the rival camps grew more intense. Gardiner was denounced from several pulpits as a supporter of the pope and the bishop, for his part, was rumoured to have said that he would give £6,000 to pluck down the Archbishop of Canterbury. Yet, with the storm raging all round him, Cranmer appears to have continued almost serenely with his task of purifying *ecclesia anglicana*. Shrines and altars were purged of 'papist' ornament. The calendar of saints' days was heavily pruned in order to cut out any non-biblical recipients of devotion. When Gardiner struck back by pressing for a new version of the vernacular scriptures, which would reinstate some medieval doctrinal emphases and ditch the Great Bible (which smacked too much of Tyndale), Cranmer graciously agreed and placed the project in the hands of the two universities, knowing that it would flounder in an academic quagmire.

The campaign against Cranmer was pursued on several levels. Throughout the country and particularly in his Kent diocese preachers acting with Cranmer's licence were watched carefully and any suspected of unorthodox views were hauled before the magistrates. At the royal court friends and supporters of Cranmer were under close observation. The members of the Privy Council were slowly taking sides. Cranmer could normally count on the support of Hertford and the Lord Chancellor, Thomas Audley. William Paget, secretary to the council and, from 1543, a full

member, was a protégé of Gardiner's but turned out to be a broken reed, veering more and more towards a reformist position. The appointment of John Dudley, Lord Lisle, as Lord Admiral early in 1543 was a boost to Cranmer, for the office carried ex-officio membership of the Privy Council and Dudley was definitely pro-reform. Reading between the lines of personnel changes at the centre suggests an atmosphere in which participants were manoeuvring for advantage and cautiously taking up ideological positions.

The spearhead of the campaign against Cranmer was in Canterbury. The cathedral prebendaries (senior clergy) were bitterly divided into pro- and anti-Cranmer camps. An incident in late May indicates the depth of feeling stirred by religious controversy. Prebendary Richard Champion, one of Cranmer's supporters, died and was buried in the cathedral. At the end of the ceremony another official jumped down into the grave and emptied hot coals from a censer onto the coffin, a symbolic burning of the heretic. One of the prebendaries was Germain Gardiner, Stephen Gardiner's nephew. He acted as messenger and information-gatherer for his uncle and, in the spring and summer of 1543, was compiling a list of the archbishop's 'heresies' with the names of his evangelical protégés. At Easter he preached an incendiary sermon in the cathedral, in which 'he did inveigh against preachers ... and ... made such exclamations, crying out "Heretics! Faggots! Fire!"'. Around the end of April Germain Gardiner's 'little black book' was given to the king and Cranmer's enemies noted with satisfaction that Henry was distancing himself from his archbishop.

Emboldened by their progress, the conservative faction was ready to focus its attention on members of the king's entourage. They carried out a purge of evangelicals in the town of Windsor and the staff of the royal castle. Five men were arrested and taken to the Marshalsea prison, close to Gardiner's Southwark palace. There they were interrogated and every effort was made to make them implicate their superiors in the king's household. Three of the prisoners were burned at the end of July.

Noose tightening

Linking targeted individuals to convicted heretics was a standard tactic employed by conservative witchhunters. One man who suffered from the attentions of inquisitors was Richard Turner. He was a member of the Chapel Royal at Windsor, rector of Chartham, Kent, where he attracted crowds to his evangelical sermons, and a favourite of Cranmer. When repeated attempts to convict him had failed, he was finally taken to London for an interrogation carried out, in person, by Stephen Gardiner in autumn 1543. The noose around Cranmer was tightening and he was in no position to save himself by a personal appeal to the king. Henry, troubled by the web of rumour being spun around his archbishop, was keeping Cranmer at a distance. It was Cranmer's secretary, Ralph Morice, who rescued his master by imploring Dr Butts and Sir Anthony Denny to approach the king on Turner's behalf. Having described the various perjuries and stratagems employed to have the rector of Chartham condemned, Morice protested:

If his majesty will thus permit learned honest men thus daily to be overcrowded and trodden under-foot with a sort of

tyrannous, or rather traitorous papists (who cannot abide to hear his majesty's supremacy advanced, nor the sincere word of God preached), it were better for men to dwell amongst the infidels and miscreants than in England.

Thanks to his friends at court Turner was exonerated.

Henry's resolve

Henry, in his gilded isolation, received such reports and appeals and heard the complaints and rumours from various sources, keeping his cards close to his chest. He must have been weighing up in his mind whether or not to sacrifice his archbishop. He will have remembered how he had been persuaded to throw Cromwell to the hounds, only to regret later losing 'the best servant I ever had'. He resolved not to make the same mistake again. The exact chronology of events in the autumn of 1543 is not clear but John Foxe in his *Acts and Monuments of the Christian Religion* recorded two incidents reported to him by Morice. The first took place aboard the royal barge moored off Lambeth. Henry, out for a trip on the river, summoned Cranmer to join him. He produced the evidence gathered against the archbishop. 'Now I know who is the biggest heretic in Kent', he said. It must have been a heart-stopping moment for his passenger. But Henry went on to point out that, if erroneous doctrines were being preached in Cranmer's diocese, then a full investigation must be carried out. And who better to head that investigation than the archbishop himself. By this one act (the kind of dramatic gesture Henry loved) the judicial initiative changed hands. The prisoner became the judge. Now all suspect preaching could be brought under review, papist as well as evangelical. One result was the examination of the anti-Cranmer conspiracy. Prebendary Gardiner's lodgings were ransacked and incriminating evidence discovered. His uncle hastened to disassociate himself from his relative's actions and, the following March, Germain Gardiner suffered a traitor's death at Tyburn on dubious charges of denying the king's supremacy over the English church.

Desperate situations call for desperate measures and the conservative leaders made one more determined attempt to destroy Cranmer. It was intended to be a re-run of the events which had brought Cromwell down. They obtained the king's permission to confront the archbishop at the council board and detain him for examination. Henry allowed them to go ahead but, once again, intervened by having a private audience with Cranmer. The archbishop responded that he was prepared to have his opinions placed under scrutiny. At this, Henry upbraided his naivety. Once his enemies had him in confinement, the king pointed out, they would produce false witnesses to ensure his conviction (an indictment of the Tudor justice system from the horse's mouth). He gave Cranmer his ring, with instructions to produce it when his enemies tried to proceed with his arrest. That is precisely what happened at the next day's council meeting. Gardiner, Norfolk and their allies were completely outmanoeuvred and hurried to the royal apartments to beg forgiveness of Henry and his archbishop: 'Nevermore after, no man durst spurn [Cranmer] during the King Henry's life.'

Derek Wilson is the author of several books on Tudor England. He has recently published a novel, *The Traitor's Mark*, set against the background of the Prebendaries Plot.



While it rightly condemns ISIS' brutal destruction of the Middle East's rich architectural heritage, is the West neglecting its own, more subtle cultural vandalism, asks **Suzannah Lipscomb**?

Living in a Material World

IN 1538, when Henry VIII built Nonsuch Palace, near Cuddington in Surrey, it was to be, as its name suggests, a house without equal. The lavish Renaissance palace was covered with painted and trompe d'œil stucco panels, framed by plaques of carved and gilded slate. Few paintings of Nonsuch survive, but it has been recreated as a model in recent years (which can be seen in a 16th-century house in Cheam Village called Whitehall) and it is clear that this most remarkable of Tudor buildings was a dazzlingly ornamented folly on a grand scale.

It now lives up to its name. There is no such palace because, in the 17th century, after poor treatment at the hands of the parliamentarians, it was in a bad state of repair and Charles II gave it to his mistress, Barbara Villiers, Countess of Castlemaine and Duchess of Cleveland. Without ever living at the palace or even visiting it, she sold it off as building materials and the palace was demolished piece-meal between 1682 and 1687. The palace became a forgotten legend until Martin Biddle and John Dent, in the summer of 1959, excavated it in Nonsuch Park and rediscovered its lost glory.

Although the first Ancient Monuments Act was passed in 1913 (creating the institution that would later become English Heritage), the tearing down of historic treasures is not itself only an historical phenomenon. A more recent casualty is another Tudor building, King's Place (later known as Brooke House) in Clapton, Hackney, which was once owned by Henry VIII, Thomas Cromwell and later Fulke Greville, the great friend and biographer of the Elizabethan poet, Sir Philip Sidney. It was demolished in the 1950s by the local authority to make way for a secondary school (attended, among others, by Alan, Baron Sugar) and,

indeed, even more recently, Nonsuch suffered a second attempted assault: plans to convert Nonsuch Park into a golf course – obliterating the footprint of the palace and preventing public access to the site – were successfully opposed by a newly formed group, the Friends of Nonsuch, in the early 1990s.

These stories are not rare. On www.lostheritage.org.uk one encounters a sobering list of, currently, 1,933 lost English country houses. Many stately homes were deliberately demolished in the 1950s by impov-

These material remains of the past carry, in some ghostly and ethereal way, the story of human lives

erished landowners to avoid paying the stratospheric death duties. Others have been too expensive to maintain. Nevertheless, the story of Nonsuch's destruction, the plans to eliminate its footprint and the demolition of Brooke House all tell the same tale: preferring modernity, progress and financial benefit over the nebulous virtue of historical preservation.

It is for very different reasons that

'Nowhere is there anything the like': the arrival of Elizabeth I at Nonsuch Palace, 1598, engraving by Joris Hoefnagel.



the Islamic State (ISIS) has bulldozed the ancient Assyrian site of Nimrud in Iraq, which dated from the 13th century BC and was first excavated in the 1840s. Yet the outcome is the same. We have been doing similar things until very recently ourselves. Irina Bokova, the head of UNESCO, is on record as stating about Nimrud that 'the deliberate destruction of cultural heritage constitutes a war crime'. This should give us serious pause for thought. How many of our acts of deliberate destruction closer to home should be considered criminal? And is this actually fair? We recoil at the wanton horror of the razing of Nimrud – the calculated obliteration of a former civilisation in an attempt to eradicate the history of different forms of belief (polytheism, other faiths and even forms of Islam that do not conform to Sunni interpretations); is it perhaps the underlying ideology that makes this vandalism feel so awful? What if a site or house were destroyed for lack of wealth to maintain it or because it was too derelict to repair, or to replace it with something modern and comfortable for the owners, or to build a hospital, housing estate or school? History surely can not always trump modernity.

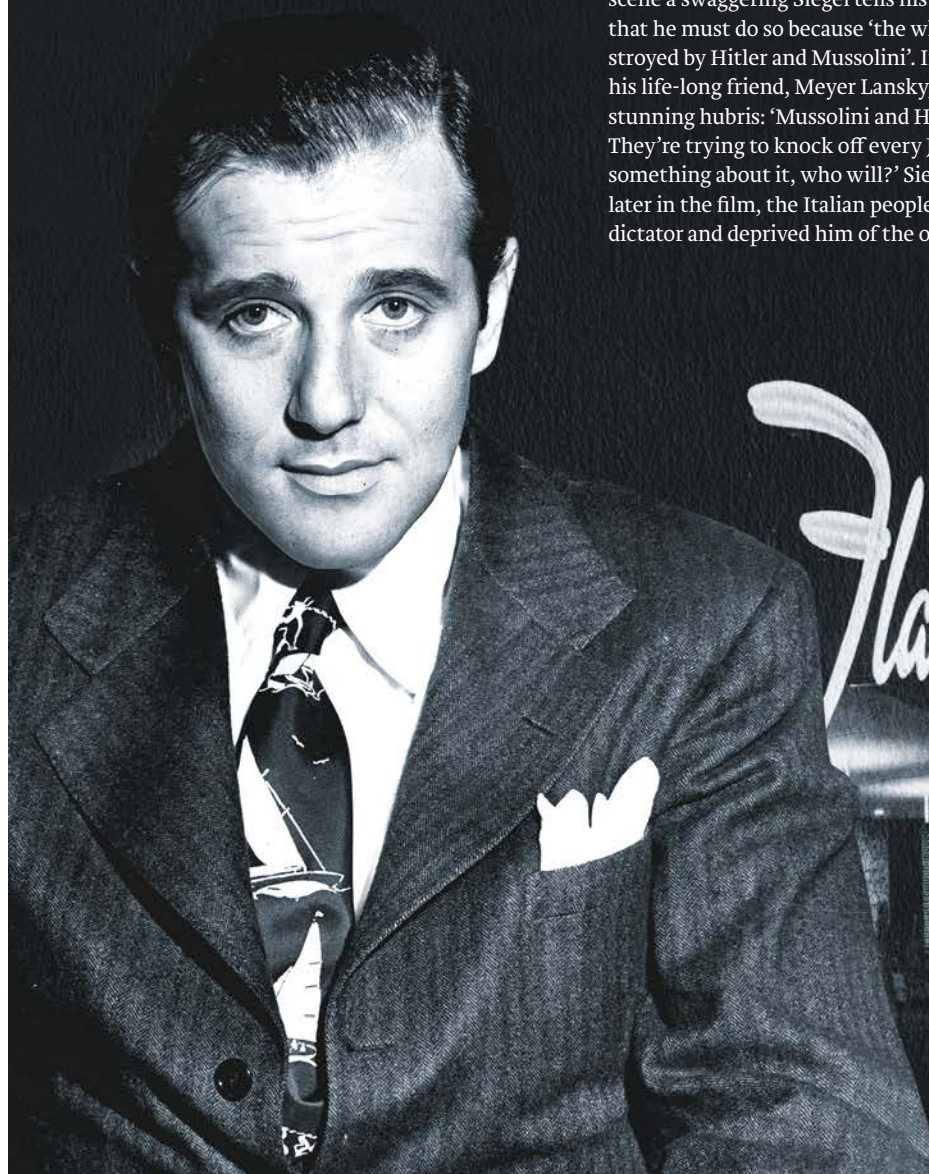
And yet I suspect there is something more in us that cries out against the ruination and loss of heritage. It is not just an aesthetic crime. These material remains of the past carry, in some ghostly and ethereal way, the story of human lives: the creativity, hopes, fears and loves of those who embodied the spaces. We cry against the destruction because it feels something of a wilful destruction of the human spirit.

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The anti-Nazi gangster

Larry Gragg investigates the evidence behind 'Bugsy' Siegel's claim that he planned to assassinate Hermann Göring in 1939.

IN THE 1991 FILM *Bugsy*, Warren Beatty portrayed Benjamin 'Bugsy' Siegel as a man with an obsession, not only to build a fabulous resort casino in Las Vegas, but also to murder the Italian dictator Benito Mussolini. In one scene a swaggering Siegel tells his paramour, Virginia Hill, that he must do so because 'the whole world is being destroyed by Hitler and Mussolini'. In a later exchange with his life-long friend, Meyer Lansky, Siegel explains, with stunning hubris: 'Mussolini and Hitler have to be stopped. They're trying to knock off every Jew on earth. If I don't do something about it, who will?' Siegel is frustrated when, later in the film, the Italian people have eliminated their dictator and deprived him of the opportunity. ►



'Bugsy' Siegel c.1940 and The Flamingo Hotel, Las Vegas in the 1950s.

The juxtaposition of Siegel plotting the deaths of the leaders of the Axis powers, while also imagining and constructing the Flamingo Hotel would, in reality, have been impossible, since his involvement with the hotel project did not begin until 1946 when both dictators were already dead. Nonetheless, *Bugsy* offered a variation on this oft-told tale about Siegel going to Italy with the Countess Dorothy di Frasso, seeking to persuade Mussolini to purchase a new explosive, the development of which Siegel and di Frasso were financing. According to the seemingly improbable narrative, Siegel and di Frasso encountered Hermann Göring and Joseph Goebbels at di Frasso's spectacular Roman home, Villa Madama. Hating Nazis and their treatment of Jews and angered that Mussolini had removed him and di Frasso from the villa so the German leaders could stay there, Siegel wanted to kill them both. Di Frasso, however, persuaded him not to do anything so rash, fearing the repercussions for her husband, the Count Carlo Dentiche di Frasso. Remarkably, there is a good deal of evidence in support of much of this seemingly fanciful story.

Siegel and di Frasso followed dramatically different paths to their intriguing trip to Italy in 1939. Born on the Lower East Side in 1906 to immigrant parents, Siegel escaped the poverty of his youth by joining a gang headed by the immigrant Meyer Lansky. The two led a lucrative bootlegging operation in New York City during the Prohibition years, surviving violent confrontations with other gangs. After his marriage in 1929 to Esta Krakauer, a now wealthy Siegel lived in the luxurious Waldorf-Astoria Hotel on Park Avenue with his wife. After moving to the trendy suburban community of Scarsdale with their two daughters, he relocated his family to southern California in the mid-1930s.

AS HE GAINED CONTROL of gambling operations in and around Los Angeles, Siegel embraced the celebrity life of Hollywood and the nightclubs along the Sunset Strip. He had affairs with several women, including Dorothy di Frasso. Born Dorothy Taylor, di Frasso inherited a fortune from her father, who had prospered in the leather trade and from investments in the stock market. She married Count di Frasso in 1923 after her divorce from the celebrated British aviator Claude Graham-White. In 1925 her husband purchased the beautiful Villa Madama just outside Rome: a spectacular structure with ceilings painted by Italian masters. Twelve years later di Frasso leased the villa to the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which used it to entertain foreign dignitaries. With the Count spending most of his time in Rome, Dorothy travelled extensively and became, like Siegel, a fan of Hollywood's celebrity culture. She purchased a Beverly Hills mansion, where she became famous for her elaborate parties; celebrities soon realised that they had not truly made it until invited to a di Frasso soiree. After they met, Siegel and di Frasso travelled a great deal, including a much-publicised voyage on the *Metha Nelson* in 1938. Convinced that there was buried treasure on an island off Costa Rica, the two helped cover the cost





Top and Bottom:
Siegel's Flamingo Hotel,
opened in 1946.
Left: Warren Beatty
in *Bugsy* (1991), with
Annette Bening
(Virginia Hill).



of chartering the 150-foot, three-masted schooner used in the filming of the 1935 film *Mutiny on the Bounty*. With a crew of two dozen men under Siegel's command, they dug and drilled for days on the island but found, according to di Frasso, nothing more than 'millions of red ants and huge rats'. On their return voyage to California, a storm off Acapulco destroyed the sails of the *Metha Nelson* and its diesel engine's crankshaft broke. The vessel finally made it back to port at San Pedro, California in January 1939. For weeks afterwards the nation's press regaled readers with stories of 'one of the daffiest cruises in the annals of the sea', which included a marriage aboard ship, an alleged mutiny by the crew and rumours that some of the crew smuggled drugs aboard the schooner.

'... di Frasso has given us much information about an astonishing American invention ...'

It was at this time that di Frasso and Siegel allegedly got word of a scientist who claimed to have invented a new explosive he called 'atomite' and the two decided to invest in its development. So what evidence is there that the countess and her gangster boyfriend sought to sell this explosive to the Italian dictator and that Siegel ended up wanting to kill two powerful Nazi leaders?

FIRST, IT IS CLEAR that Siegel travelled with di Frasso to Rome. The countess provided cover for their trip by telling gossip columnists that she was sailing to Italy 'to sell her castle' and hoped that she would not be 'caught in a war zone'. She sailed from New York on April 8th, 1939 aboard the *Conti di Savoia*, one of the largest luxury liners of the era. Clearly, Siegel was aboard with her, as in a 1941 extradition hearing he had to account for his whereabouts at that time. Both the travel agent who sold him the tickets for the voyage and two passengers who were aboard confirmed Siegel had indeed made the trip on the *Conti di Savoia*.

Siegel and di Frasso indeed invested in a new explosive and tried to sell it to Mussolini's government. As early as 1928 there had been discussion about 'radium-atomite', more powerful than TNT or dynamite, in publications such as *Popular Science*. Impressed by a demonstration of its destructive power, di Frasso persuaded her husband back in Rome to approach Count Galeazzo Ciano, Mussolini's son-in-law and foreign minister, with the news, hoping that the Italian government would be interested. On January 17th, 1939 Ciano wrote in his diary: 'Dentice di Frasso has given us information about an astonishing American invention of a very powerful smokeless, colorless, and flashless gunpowder.' The Italian foreign minister, however, was 'skeptical about such inventions' and apparently invited the countess to bring the scientist who developed the explosive, probably Michelle Bonotto, to Italy for a demonstration. Unfortunately for di Frasso and Siegel, the demonstration of the atomite did not go well, so the anticipated contract with the Mussolini government did not materialise. Nonetheless, there is no question that the California couple hoped to make money from the developing crisis in Europe. In a conversation after the war with the gossip columnist Elsa Maxwell, Umberto II, the son of Italy's Victor Emmanuel II, acknowledged that Siegel 'tried to sell us dynamite'.

Undeterred by his failure in Italy, Bonotto continued to experiment on the explosive and, in the process, attracted the attention of US naval intelligence agents, who discovered in 1942 that the scientist was in Mexico, 'where he is manufacturing a powerful high explosive and is in contact with Countess Dorothy di Frasso', whom they described as 'an alleged Italian agent'. Bonotto persisted and in 1947 obtained a patent for nitroglycerine explosives. That di Frasso remained his financial backer is evident from the notation in the patent award that she was the *assignor*, or owner, of the patent.

HERMANN GÖRING was in Rome at the same time as di Frasso and Siegel. On April 14th, shortly after Siegel and di Frasso arrived at the latter's villa from Naples, where the *Conti di Savoia* had docked, Count Ciano noted in his diary: 'Göring arrives. I receive him at the station and accompany him to Villa Madama.' The President of the Reichstag met Mussolini on April 15th. During their extended discussions, just a month after the German seizure of Czechoslovakia and a week following Italy's invasion of Albania, the two derided diplomatic notes received from President Roosevelt, offering a ten-year truce in return for assurances from Italy and Germany that they would not attack any more of their neighbours. Mussolini dismissed Roosevelt's dispatches as meaningless, 'a result of progressive paralysis' of the US government.

The following day Göring had 'two long conversations' with Ciano in which the former detailed his nation's preparations for war with Poland. The Italian foreign minister was concerned that Göring did not understand that Poland, unlike Czechoslovakia, would not be easily overrun. The Poles, he said, would 'not lay down their arms without a hard fight'. Ciano accompanied Göring on April 17th to the train station for his return to Germany, leaving the German 'rather pleased with his stay in Rome'. Contrary to the long-standing version of this story, Goebbels, Hitler's Reich Minister of Propaganda, did not accompany Göring on this visit, as he had just returned to Berlin on April 14th after a two-week trip to the Middle East. He was responsible for helping plan the Führer's 50th birthday celebrations.

Obviously, Siegel and di Frasso had an opportunity to interact with Göring and one can only wonder what it must have been like for the imperious, senior figure in the Nazi regime, whose personality was described by his biographers, Roger Manvell and Heinrich Fraenkel, as a 'strange mixture of charm and ferocity'. What must he have thought of the Beverly Hills socialite and her celebrity gangster friend? Would Göring, on such an important visit, have regarded meeting di Frasso and Siegel as anything more than an amusing diversion? Conversely, what must Siegel have thought about one of the most powerful political figures in Europe?

Göring was not the only notable figure the couple met: di Frasso later told the impresario Billy Rose that she introduced Siegel to many top political leaders, including Mussolini, and contended: 'They got along fine. They liked him.' Two years later, a boastful Siegel told reporters that 'he attended an audience with' the new pope, Pius XII, and that 'the King of Greece' was also in attendance. He went further, claiming that he met Victor Emmanuel II and had stayed 'with the Duke of Spoleto'.



Top: Count Galeazzo Ciano, Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs and son-in-law of Mussolini, c.1940. Right: Göring and Mussolini in September 1937.



Right: Countess di Frasso (right) and Countess Haugwitz-Reventlow shopping in Worth Avenue, Palm Beach, Florida. c.1940.



Below: Adolf Hitler meets Mussolini and Count Ciano, 1940.



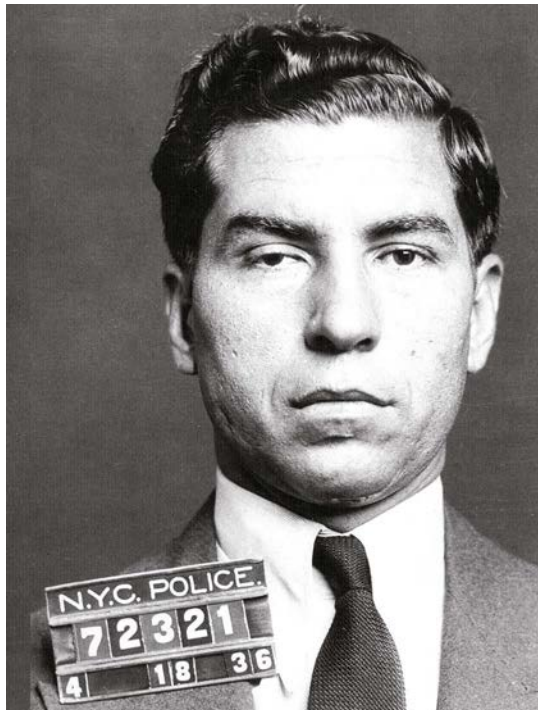
While it is not possible to confirm that Siegel met all these figures, Umberto II did recall meeting the gangster, although he was under the impression that Siegel was a 'baron'. Moreover, Millicent Rosen, Siegel's eldest daughter, who was eight years old when her father took the trip to Italy, recalled in 2013 that upon his return her father had told his family stories about meeting 'people high up' in the Italian government.

Rosen's recollections also include her father's assertion that he had become angered by one of the powerful men he had met and wished that he had shot him. There is, however, no contemporary evidence to confirm Siegel's claim to his family and Rosen did not recall her father mentioning the name of the person whom he wished he had shot. So the idea that Siegel wanted to kill Göring is grounded almost solely upon his boast to family members upon returning home to California.

If true, the idea was faintly reminiscent of an alleged plot, hatched in the US six years earlier, to assassinate Hitler. The German ambassador in Washington, Friedrich Wilhelm von Prittwitz und Gaffron, received an intriguing letter in March 1933 from someone named Daniel Stern, who wrote that he had called upon President Roosevelt to demand 'an immediate and complete end' to the 'outrages upon the Jews in Germany'. If the president failed to do so, Stern claimed he would travel to Germany 'and assassinate Hitler'. Less than a month later, just after the ambassador resigned his post, another threatening letter reached the German embassy. This one claimed that 'several New York Jews' had initiated a plan 'to murder Reich Chancellor Adolph (sic) Hitler'. Indeed, 'a young American Jew has already been chosen to perform the act'. FBI agents investigated for several months but ultimately closed the case, lacking 'definitive information' about the person 'who allegedly made a threat to assassinate Adolph Hitler'. Yet because FBI agents questioned so many people, including some in organised crime in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Phoenix, Siegel may well have heard about the rumour.

THOUGH HE FAILED to harm Göring, Siegel was not the only figure in organised crime who opposed the Nazis. A 1954 inquiry conducted by William B. Herlands, the New York State Commissioner of Investigations, examined the collaboration between the Office of Naval Intelligence and leading underworld figures. Investigators working with Herlands concluded that some gangsters 'opposed Axis forces with the same determination as the Navy'. The 101-page *Herland Report*, best analysed by Rodney Campbell in *The Luciano Project* (1977), Timothy Newark in *Mafia Allies* (2007) and Ezio Costanzo in *The Mafia and the Allies* (2007), found that organised crime leaders, including Lucky Luciano, assisted in preventing German sabotage among the vessels in New York harbour. The Naval Intelligence Office took this action in 1942 after the luxury liner *Normandie* caught fire and sank at Pier 88 in New York, where it was being converted into a troop transport vessel. Suspecting sabotage, intelligence authorities worked with Luciano to persuade the Mafia to gather rumours, stories and any kind of intelligence to help prevent repeat episodes.

Naval intelligence agents also used the underworld's connections in Sicily to help the military planning for the invasion of the island in 1943. While it is clear that



Right: Charlie 'Lucky' Luciano, April 18th, 1936. Far right: Meyer Lansky, c.1930s.



Luciano and Meyer Lansky's intervention helped protect East Coast docks from Axis agents, the underworld's impact on the successful Sicilian campaign was of little consequence. As Tim Newark has shown, 'the Allies did not get and did not need the help of the Mafia to win their campaign in Sicily'.

ON ANOTHER FRONT, however, Meyer Lansky freely acknowledged that in the 1930s he, along 'with my buddies like Bugsy Siegel', joined and sometimes led the efforts in New York to disrupt rallies called by the pro-Nazi German-American Bund. In one such episode, Lansky and his men broke into a rally of 'several hundred people dressed in their brown shirts' with a stage 'decorated with a swastika and pictures of Hitler'. Lansky claimed that his men threw firecrackers and started 'knocking heads' and the Nazi supporters fled for the hall.

There is another curious story involving Siegel's interest in supporting those seeking to establish a state of Israel in 1945. It was the claim of Reuven Dafni, a Croatian who served in the British army in the Second World War. Dafni was a member of Haganah, the military organisation that represented Jews in Palestine. Haganah sent Dafni to the US in 1945 to raise funds for weapons. In a 1989 interview with the historian Robert Rockaway, Dafni claimed that Siegel asked to meet him in Los Angeles. When he learned that Jews were fighting to create their own nation, Siegel, according to Dafni, gave him \$50,000 to support the cause.

In the end what are we to make of Siegel's claim that he wanted to kill Hermann Göring? Was it just another example of the gangster's rash and dangerous impulses, a behaviour pattern that he had developed in the Prohibition struggles? Was he just being petty about having to vacate the Villa Madama so that someone more important could have it for a couple of days? Or did he have a genuine hatred

for the Nazis, who were treating European Jews with such savagery?

Siegel certainly travelled to Italy with Dorothy di Frasso in 1939 and he sought to sell a new explosive to one of the leaders of the Axis powers. In the process, in what can only be called a truly extraordinary coincidence, he met many powerful people, including in all likelihood, Göring. But did he really want to kill the leading Nazi? What if he had done so? It remains tempting to play the counter-factual history game, one fuelled by a number of websites. How might the assassination of Göring have affected the war about to start? One biographer of Göring has concluded that:

He was second only to Hitler in the Nazi movement and in the state. He shared Hitler's ambitions and played a crucial role in the attempt to fulfill them.

Had Siegel killed such a powerful man we might now look upon him more as a hero than as the gangster who built the Flamingo Hotel.

Larry Gragg is chair of the department of History and Political Science, Missouri University of Science and Technology.

FURTHER READING

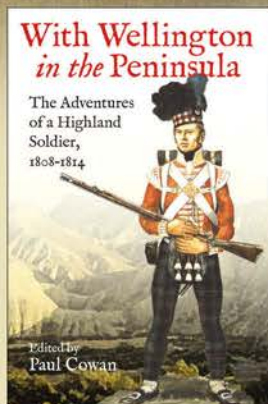
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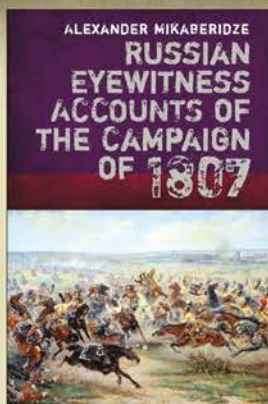
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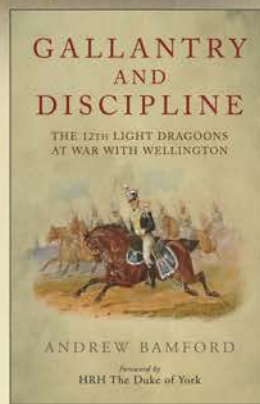
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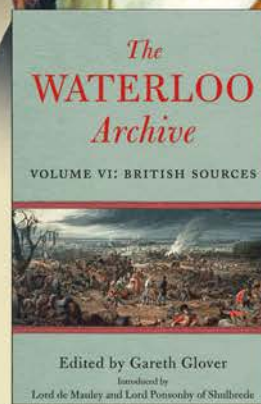
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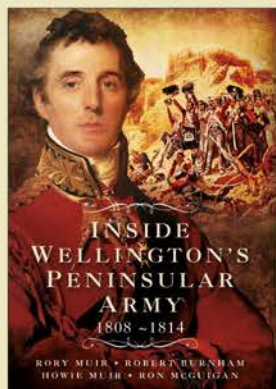
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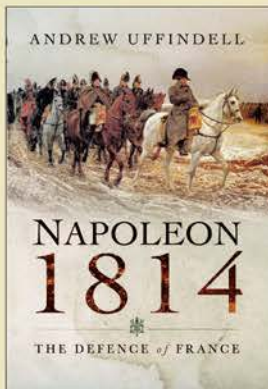
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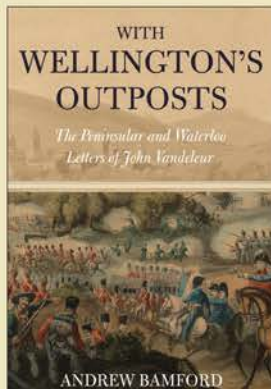
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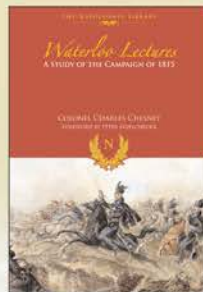
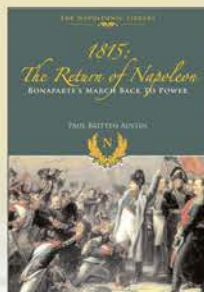
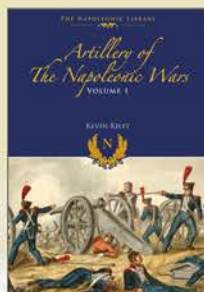
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REVIEWS

Anne Curry is fascinated by an account of the Hundred Years War
Mark Ormrod on felony and exile • *Ahron Bregman* praises a history of Gaza

AMONG this year's many anniversaries, it is the 800th anniversary of the sealing of Magna Carta in 1215 that occupies pride of place. What happened at Runnymede in that year was by any standard a landmark event and a defining moment in England's constitutional history. The slew of publications marking the anniversary gives us the chance to re-evaluate the Charter and assess changing responses to it over the centuries.

For many years, scholarship in the field was dominated by J.C. Holt's *Magna Carta*, first published in 1965 to mark the 750th anniversary and reissued and substantially enlarged in 1992. Holt's achievement was to view Magna Carta contextually, seeing it not as a constitutional document, but in some sense as an argument; a critique of Angevin government, drawn up by barons who were themselves familiar with government and wanted to apply to the king rules that he had long expected them to apply to others.

So authoritative was Holt's work that it held the field for a generation and little else of significance was written. The first signs of a new approach were afforded by the publication of Nicholas Vincent's *Magna Carta: A Very Short Introduction* (2012), a stimulating essay, which re-evaluated the subject and accorded greater importance to the role of ideas. Vincent stressed how familiar both king and barons were with the new legal thinking and highlighted the evidence even of Biblical influence in the choice of the unusual number of 25 for the



Portrait of King John by an unknown artist. c.1620.

enforcers of the Charter. Vincent developed his ideas further in the early chapters of his co-authored *Magna Carta: The Foundation of Freedom, 1215-2015* (2014), a study which carries the Charter's history down to the present day.

A book which builds on Vincent's foundations is David Carpenter's outstanding *Magna Carta* (2015). Modestly masquerading as an edition of the Charter with a commentary, this is in fact a full-scale re-examination of the document, incorporating some of the many exciting discoveries made by Vincent's Arts and Humanities Research Council-funded research project on the Charter's texts. For Carpenter, as for Holt, it is the barons and not Langton or any of the clergy who are the real originators of the Charter. In sharp contrast to Holt, however, Carpenter sees the barons acting self-interestedly, feathering their own nests and, through creation of the 25, setting themselves up as a shadow government, a situation which no self-respecting king could accept.

Carpenter's early chapters tell us much about England in the reign of King John and the kind of society out of which the issues dealt with in the Charter grew. The nature of English society in the 13th century is also explored by Anthony Arlidge and Igor Judge, in *Magna Carta Uncovered* (2015), although, as might be expected from authors who are lawyers, the approach is somewhat legalistic. Much the best portrait of the age still remains Danny Danziger's and

SIGNPOSTS

Magna Carta Matters

Nigel Saul marks the 800th anniversary of the sealing of Magna Carta with a comprehensive overview of the landmark books that dominate the field and picks his way through the slew of recent publications, highlighting the best and most interesting to explain why Magna Carta remains so important.

John Gillingham's, 1215: *The Year of Magna Carta* (2003), a brilliant study, compellingly readable, which always keeps the Charter itself centre-stage.

Discussion of the Charter inevitably leads onto the character and kingship of John himself. Typically dismissed, in the language of 1066 *And All That*, as a 'bad king', John's reputation benefited from the publication of W.L. Warren's revisionist biography, *King John* in 1961 (reissued 1997) and the process of re-examining and re-assessing his reign goes on. Stephen Church offers a new account of the reign in *King John: England, Magna Carta and the Making of a Tyrant* (2015), a book which puts the most favourable gloss on the king's misdeeds, but adds little to what Warren said and ultimately fails to convince. More plausible is the approach taken by Marc Morris in

What happened at Runnymede was by any standard a landmark event and defining moment in this country's constitutional history

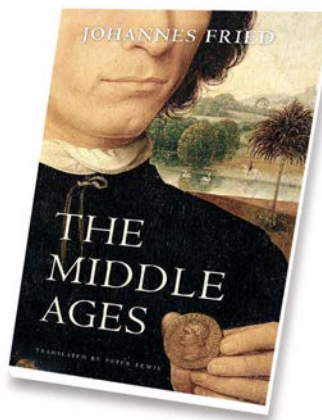
King John: Treachery, Tyranny and the Road to Magna Carta (2015), a lively overview, which eschews a linear narrative in favour of flashbacks to John's earlier life and which offers a damning indictment of the king in the conclusion. The terrible sequel to the reign, which saw the destruction of Magna Carta three months after its making and a civil war which drew in the French, is the subject of an excellent study in military history, Sean McGlynn's *Blood Cries Afar: The Forgotten Invasion of England, 1216* (2011). The period of warfare and chaos is also treated in the later chapters of Thomas Asbridge, *The Greatest Knight: The Remarkable Life of William Marshal, the Power Behind*

Five English Thrones (2015), a briskly written biography which traces its subject's role in saving England after the young Henry III's accession and which, in so doing, highlights the bad write-up of the boy's father in John of Earley's verse life of the Marshal.

The later history of the Charter has developed its own literature, largely separate from that of the events of 1215 and the actual making of the document. The story of the Charter's gradual mutation from document to artefact and of its growing veneration as a symbol of liberty and touchstone of good government, is told by Ralph V. Turner, *Magna Carta Through the Ages* (2003) and, more recently, in richly illustrated versions by Vincent and his co-authors in *Magna Carta: The Foundation of Freedom* and Claire Breay's and Julian Harrison's catalogue of the British Library's exhibition, *Magna Carta: Law, Liberty and Legacy*, which is reviewed on p.59. Along with Vincent's *Very Short Introduction*, these are all works which stress how ownership of the Charter was claimed by multiple audiences and how, over the centuries, the Charter has come to mean all things to all men.

The quirkiest and most personal book published in connection with the anniversary is David Starkey's *Magna Carta: The True Story Behind the Charter* (2015), not quite the book of the television programme in which it originated, the 17th century being omitted, but recognisably based on the same material. This is a book more argument than narrative, a passionately argued case for Magna Carta as that uniquely English thing, a conservative revolution – revolutionary because it was imposed on the king against his will and conservative because it was ultimately brought under control. Starkey believes that we are becoming too comfortable about Magna Carta, taking its achievement for granted and he is right. We need to be more assertive about our liberties and that is why this anniversary matters.

Nigel Saul



The Middle Ages

Johannes Fried, translated by Peter Lewis

Belknap Press of Harvard University Press

632pp £25

TO present the whole thousand years of medieval European history in a single offering needs an exceptionally large-minded historian, with a strong take. In the German original of *Das Mittelalter* in 2008, Johannes Fried gave German-readers a powerful sense of the medieval West's 'progression' towards 'a culture of reason'. The take was that of an intellectual historian, embracing a cultural scene populated by great writers who inspired great doers. From Boethius, the sixth-century philosopher, through 'the dawn of the age of reason' in tenth-century German courts, through 'a multiplicity of freedoms' in 12th-century French schools of France and Italian city-communes, to late medieval 'revolutionary movements', scholars and scholar-kings, Fried delivered a compelling narrative. Now, in this admirable translation, Anglophones can read it.

There is much to like. A strong line of eschatological thinking, traced in recent decades by Fried himself among others, links all the medieval centuries. Several chapters, whose headings apparently portend pope-centred histories, turn out to be counter-intuitively diverse and thought-provoking. The 12th century presented as a series of papal schisms reveals such unexpected positive consequences as

a king's capacity to 'swing' a kingdom's church behind him, or the enhanced momentum of diplomatic contacts across an enlarged medieval world of communications. Fried's fabric is deftly woven of an astonishing range of materials, shot through with bright threads of modern analogy. Fried, whose personal areas of expertise include the reign of Charlemagne, rates that ruler's court 'a headquarters of knowledge organisation such as the world had not seen anywhere before', while 'its most recent heirs are modern government ministries of education and research'. 'Consensus and reciprocity' bound nobility to king in what Fried goes on to suggest 'represented a breakthrough on the way to a formal social contract'.

Not all parts of medieval Europe can receive equal attention, yet Fried's eye for evidence can be very sharp indeed. Take England: Domesday Book (1086) is singled out for its 'rational organisation', the Dialogue of the Exchequer (1179) for its distinction between 'public' and 'nonpublic usury', Magna Carta (1215) for its 'comprehensive manifestation of the demands for freedom that were abroad throughout Europe at this time'. Take Aragon: in the late 14th century, Francesc Eiximenis, perhaps influenced by Magna Carta, placed the *cosa pública* and the *communitat* of the realm above the king and 'was the first to identify a connection between *bon regiment* (the common good), work and merit'.

However, some parts of Europe prove a good deal more equal than others in terms of authorial attention. A preponderant emphasis on Germany is understandable in a *Mittelalter* destined for a German audience, but harder to justify in a translation aimed above all at Anglophones nurtured on historic common-law tradition and its legacy post-1945 in human rights. This large handsome book has flaws: the publisher, generous with illustrations, seems to have economised on the Index,

REVIEWS

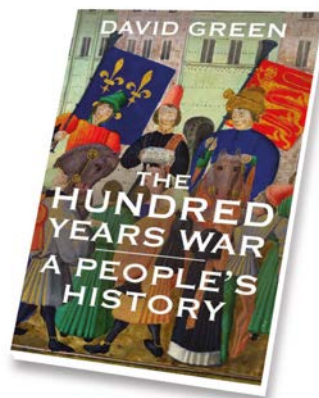
on keying-in of pictures to text and on basic proof-reading. This reviewer's more substantial concerns are about the book's underlying teleology and Eurocentrism. Travellers to the East in the 13th-century showed astonishing enterprise and, in the case of Marco Polo's *Le Devisement du Monde*, a shrewd enthusiasm for diversity (and perhaps a better market for it in its original French). But, missionaries apart, their sights were primarily on wealth. It is hard to see Fried's 'turning point in the process of globalisation' as other than a false dawn. When in the 14th century the Mongol Empire collapsed and Turks moved west, European contacts with the Far East shrank. Princely 'wars and power struggles' and pogroms conducted by urban

To present the whole 1,000 years of medieval European history in a single offering needs an exceptionally large-minded historian

elites revealed new aspects of 'a persecuting society' (Fried rightly borrows more than once R.I. Moore's telling phrase).

Though Fried rejects an older historiography of decline and amply acknowledges spiritual renewal and intellectual creativity, his master-story of the onward march of reason and freedom is wearing thin when he reaches the late Middle Ages. The great Mediterranean powers were 'arming themselves for the conflicts of the Early Modern era', as, with all their paradoxes, the Middle Ages, 'crossed seamlessly over into a similarly constituted Early Modern period'. Perhaps, for new readers, the Epilogue would have been the place to offer qualifications or rectifications? There, alas, an opportunity has been missed.

Jinty Nelson



The Hundred Years War

A People's History

David Green

Yale University Press 360pp £14.99

'THE PEOPLES of England and France and the countries in which they lived were ... changed in deeply significant ways by the experience of the Hundred Years War.' So concludes David Green's book, which explores a well-known medieval conflict in a new way. Others have written on one aspect or another of the impact of war. Since the war was fought mainly in France, it is hardly surprising that French historians have emphasised the damaging effects of a long-drawn out conflict in which English strategy was often aimed at deliberate destruction. In the 1890s Henri Deniflé wrote a magisterial study of the 'desolation' of churches, monasteries and hospitals in France during the Hundred Years War. In 1976 Guy Bois published his influential study of crisis in late medieval Normandy, where he went so far as to speak of 'Hiroshima in Normandy' for the combined effects of economic decline and English military occupation in the late 1430s and early 1440s. Despite the fact that the English won the battles but lost the war, English historians have tended to a more positive view. Their publications highlighted the social elevation engendered by participation in the great campaigns, the profits of war through ransoms and booty and the stimulus to the role of Parliament through the king's need for the consent of the Commons to the taxes essential to funding his wars.

David Green's book is the first to bring all of these elements

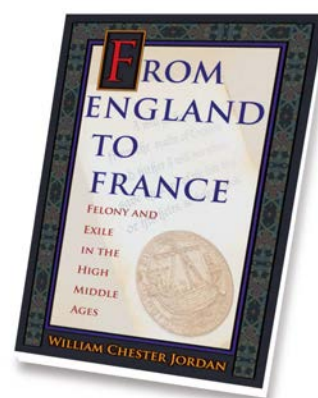
together into one clear-sighted and extremely well-structured volume. Cleverly, too, Green combines a thematic approach with a chronological structure. Thus, the first chapter, 'Knights and Nobles: Flowers of Chivalry', provides the entrée into the first phases of the war, culminating in the victories of Edward III. The Jacquerie of 1358, a French popular revolt in the dark days following the capture of John II at Poitiers in 1356, forms the kernel of the second chapter, 'Peasantry'. The Great Schism, which exacerbated Anglo-French divisions by placing them in the camps of rival popes, stimulates a chapter on the role of the Church in the late 14th century and links into the final chapter on this century, which considers efforts for peace. The 15th-century phase is highlighted in the remaining chapters. The resumption of war in the 1410s is seen through the eyes of kings and soldiers, the English conquest and occupation of Normandy through the experiences of French civilians, women and prisoners. A final chapter focuses on national identity, probing whether French and English identity were the product rather than the cause of conflict. As Green wisely observes, 'questions of allegiance lay at the heart of the Hundred Years War'.

Each chapter is full of intriguing detail and example as well as

Green has brought together all the elements of the Hundred Years War ... in an eminently readable book

providing a sound insight into the ways historians have approached the Hundred Years War and what it meant for different people at different times. Green is surer footed on the English than the French side of the Channel, but overall he has provided an attractive and eminently readable book on a fascinating and significant period in the history of both countries.

Anne Curry



From England to France

Felony and Exile in the High Middle Ages

William Chester Jordan

Princeton University Press 240pp £27.95

AROUND 1300 a Northamptonshire man called Richard Man-deville killed his brother in the course of a stone-throwing competition. Whether this was accidental or premeditated we shall never know, for Richard claimed immunity from prosecution by seeking sanctuary in the local parish church. However, such was the social pressure on him that the troubled man decided to do a deal. Admitting to an act of theft in which he had recently been involved, he went to court, where he agreed that he would take his punishment by abjuring the realm: leaving the kingdom, never to return.

In a fascinating study, William Chester Jordan suggests that judicial exile, barely noted in previous histories of the law, was practised in a remarkably large number of cases – at least 75,000, he suggests – between 1180 and 1350. Abjuration takes its place alongside other means by which medieval society sought to soften the rigours of the law and allow those found guilty of felony to escape the hangman's noose. This is not to say that exile somehow denoted innocence. Jordan is clear that the majority of those who abjured were guilty of their crimes and, indeed, were often hardened criminals. The exiling of so many vagrants, petty thieves, gangsters and murderers offers a chilling commentary on how English society thought

best to deal with them: by letting their neighbours abroad take on the problem.

Where did abjurers go and what happened to them there? Jordan applies his extensive knowledge of continental sources to offer a persuasive account of the main trends. Many abjurers were instructed to proceed to Dover and cross the Channel to Wissant, whence most seemingly made their way into the Low Countries and particularly into France. Some

A fascinating study of judicial exile ... by which those found guilty were able to escape the hangman's noose

scratched an honest living as labourers; others even made good and were sometimes even invited home again. For the vast majority, though, the odds were grim and abjurers seem to have lived on the margins, often ending up as members of a hardened criminal underclass.

Cases of abjuration dry up around the middle of the 14th century. The reason seems to lie in the outbreak of the Hundred Years War. No longer keen to see undesirables making common cause with their enemies, the English state preferred to offer certain types of criminal a royal pardon, granted on condition of a period of service in the king's armies. Ironically, then, the English Crown no longer treated France as a dumping ground for undesirables and, instead, directed the perpetrators of crimes at home to commit altogether greater atrocities abroad.

This is not a book for the beginner: it assumes and demands a good deal of its reader. But the vivid detail conjured out of the records and the author's general mastery of so many aspects of medieval law and culture make it a revealing and compelling model of history 'from below'.

Mark Ormrod

EXHIBITION



Magna Carta: Law, Liberty, Legacy
British Library, London, until September 1st, 2015

HAS MAGNA CARTA ever been so exhaustively commemorated? Leafing through the hefty catalogue to the current exhibition at the British Library, which marks the charter's 800th anniversary, one is struck by the absence of similar celebrations of its previous centenaries. In 1815 and 1915 Englishmen and women were evidently too busy fighting Napoleon and the Kaiser to remember in any major way the long distant events at Runnymede. Fortunately, this time around, we are free from such pressing distractions and the result is this carefully curated and comprehensive exhibition.

It begins in the Middle Ages, but some time before the issuing of Magna Carta itself. Anglo-Saxon legal texts serve as a reminder that England was a law-bound land long before 1215 and the Coronation Charter of Henry I, issued in 1100, shows that English kings had been in the habit of making promises of good governance to their subjects long before King John was obliged to do the same.

John's disastrous reign is the main medieval focus and the show presents all the famous documents relating to his struggle with his barons – the draft demands for reform presented by the king's opponents, the papal bull that declared Magna Carta 'null and void' and the last testament drawn up by John himself just days before his death in 1216. Medieval scholars will delight in seeing the original documents that they have for the most part only ever read in print.

John's reign is also brought to life by items borrowed from elsewhere, such as the slippers of his sometime chancellor, Archbishop Hubert Walter (inset), and the seal of his baronial opponent Robert fitz Walter. There is a full-

sized replica of the king's tomb in Worcester Cathedral and also several items liberated from the actual tomb when it was opened in 1797, including one of John's thumb bones and two of the teeth he is reported to have gnashed while Magna Carta was being negotiated.

Only about a third of the exhibition is given over to the granting of the Charter and its survival during the remainder of the 13th century. The rest is devoted to exploring how it was revived and reinterpreted at other times down to the present – the 'legacy' of the show's subtitle. There follows a parade of other famous documents from English history, which drew on Magna Carta for inspiration or legitimisation, including the 17th-century Petition of Right and the later Bill of Rights. We see how the Charter was taken abroad and used as a rallying cry for liberty around the world. Thomas Jefferson's autograph copy of the Declaration of Independence is a particular highlight.

It is worth stressing that this is a library exhibition. Despite the liberal inclusion of diverting artefacts such as coins and weapons, what is presented here is overwhelmingly paper and parchment. Some of the medieval documents on display are gloriously illustrated, but many others are not. The most important ones were written by chancery clerks who had no time to waste on illuminated initials.

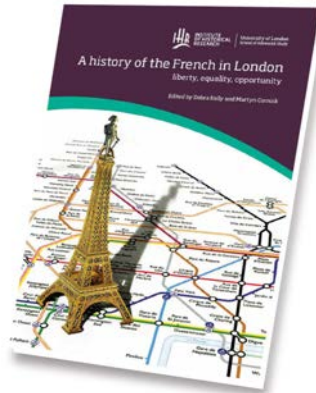
They are written, moreover, in abbreviated medieval Latin, so most visitors will be reliant on the descriptions provided by the curators to understand their contents and significance. It comes as something of a relief towards the end of the exhibition when we encounter political cartoons and cine-film. There is also some wonderful kitsch from the 18th century onwards, when the cult of Magna Carta really started to take off: jugs, mugs

and teapots and an arrestingly awful Victorian mantelpiece decoration, depicting King John signing the Charter in his gartered stockings.

None of this is intended as a criticism, merely as a caveat. Magna Carta itself, which is reserved for the end of the show and solemnly displayed in a black chapel all by itself, is the most prosaic document of all: 63 clauses of careful Latin script, written continuously so as to fill half a metre of sheepskin. Its power lies not in its presentation but in the ideals of justice contained within it, which have proved a lasting inspiration down the centuries.

Marc Morris

The power of Magna Carta lies not in its presentation but in the ideals of justice contained within it, which have proved a lasting inspiration



A History of the French in London

Liberty, Equality, Opportunity
*Edited by Debra Kelly and
 Martyn Cornick*

Institute of Historical Research 516pp £40

THE FRENCH are visible all over London and not just in the South Kensington area, or 'Frog Valley' as it is affectionately known. One can buy French books in French bookshops, catch a whiff of freshly-baked baguettes drifting from French boulangeries, listen to French Radio London, watch French films at the Institut Français and read about French community life in *Ici Londres*. Indeed, according to estimates by the French Embassy, there are close to 400,000 French people living in Greater London, effectively making it France's fifth or sixth 'largest city' in population terms, although this is slightly misleading, as it counts only those living in French city centres and discounts those in the suburbs.

A History of the French in London is an extensive, complex study that aims ambitiously 'to explore and provide elements toward a history of the social, cultural, political [and] economic presence of the French in London and to examine the many ways in which this presence has contributed to the life of the British capital'.

The book starts with the arrival of French Protestants in the 16th century and continues through to today's London French; across this period two trends stand out: continuity and visibility/invisibility. Continuity, in Soho, where one can enjoy a French patisserie in *Maison Bertaux*, founded by the Communards in 1871 or read, on Lisle Street,

in the doorway of the Chinese restaurant that has since replaced it, the name of the *Hôtel de Boulogne*, which was frequented by the Free French during the Second World War. Likewise, reasons for coming to London in the 19th century still ring true today. As Michel Rapoport writes, French people 'generally came because they were attracted by a very open, labour market, with [...] the prospect of professional and social success that would not have been possible for them in France'; others were sent by their families for training in finance and commerce or to improve their English. Rapoport also explains how in the late 19th century the French 'colony' in London did not become involved in the political struggles that divided French life. Political opinions tended to remain in the private sphere. The French were united by a strong sense of patriotism and desire to defend the French language, culture and inter-

An extensive, complex study that aims ambitiously to 'explore and provide elements towards a history of the social, cultural, political [and] economic presence of the French in London'

ests – albeit not to the detriment of the Entente Cordiale – and by a reverence for the Crown. Today, as Huc-Hepher's and Drake's study observes, there remains still a 'united set of perspectives' and 'unity in diversity', despite their huge ethnic, professional and socio-economic diversity.

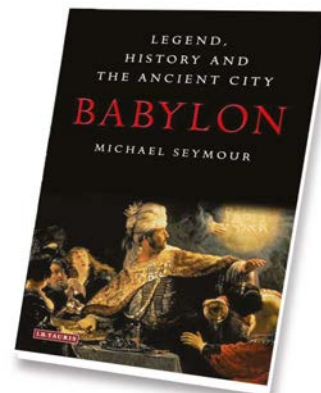
However, at the advent of the Second World War a crack emerged in the cohesion of the colony. As Rapoport explains, members of the French colony were forced to make choices that were ultimately divisive: they could stand by the legal French Vichy

government, rebel and join those backing de Gaulle or other resistance groups, or support England.

This change also introduces a second key question raised in the book: that of the invisibility of the French during various periods. The history of the Free French in London is in many ways very visible (think the blue plaque and statue of Charles de Gaulle in Carlton Gardens) and well-documented through the published memoirs of de Gaulle, Colonel Passy and Jean-Louis Crémieux-Brilhac. However, the history of many during this period remains forgotten. What of those French who were already settled in London but were not necessarily part of the Free French during the war? Debra Kelly's essay attempts to make them more 'visible'. However, as she explains in her conclusion, the very concept of the Free French was in many ways an imaginary one and therefore represents an imaginary space. According to Crémieux-Brilhac, one of de Gaulle's most powerful weapons was his appeal to the imagination: 'Free France was simultaneously a reality and a myth, and he was the knowing artisan of both'.

As Huc-Hepher and Drake also highlight, today's London French are not all upper-class Parisians from the 16th arrondissement who attend the Lycée Charles de Gaulle. Their study reveals that many French have come to London to escape prejudice in France, be it racism, xenophobia, homophobia, sexism, conservatism or elitism. Many French in London also avoid the elitist French education system opting instead for the British education system, which is often seen as being more confidence-building, inspiring and encouraging of students' creativity – and they live all over London. The most French-speaking borough is not Kensington and Chelsea but Lambeth. Younger French migrants tend to move to more affordable areas and, interestingly, as Huc-Hepher and Drake point out, to Brick Lane and Richmond, the same places chosen by the French Protestants on their arrival over 400 years ago.

Kathryn Hadley



Babylon

Legend, History, and the Ancient City

Michael Seymour

I.B. Tauris 352pp £68

BABYLON lies approximately 85 kilometres south of Baghdad, on the fertile soils of the Euphrates. Throughout history its physical location, though important, has mattered less than its symbolism. Artists, writers and politicians have nurtured their own pictures of the city and its significance, as if they have each discovered a private doorway into a well-worn metaphor. What these ideas of the place tell us about our relationship with the ancient world is the complex question at the centre of this new study.

From the first traces of Babylon in fragmentary texts of the late third millennium bc, via its powerful dynasty of kings in the 1700s bc, and its subjection to Assyrian rule 500 years later, Seymour plods through the early history before pausing in the sixth century bc. It was in 539 bc that Cyrus the Great conquered Babylon, bringing about what was later interpreted as the fulfilment of an Old Testament prophecy. Seeking to separate myth from legend, even where these criss-cross the terrain of pagan and Christian, Seymour suggests that, far from wreaking destruction, Cyrus' conquest marked a 'relatively quiet transition' into Persian rule. Likewise, the fall of Babylon was not cataclysmic, but a gradual response to the foundation of a rival trade centre at Seleucia on the Tigris in the late fourth century bc.

Artist Brueghel the Elder painted its iconic Tower of Babel as a classical building casting a shadow over 16th-century Antwerp, while Nimrod gasconades like Philip II of Spain over the Low Countries, or so it has been argued.

Later, William Blake perpetuated the common image of Babylon as a city of sin in his 'nightmarish' *Whore of Babylon*. Helpfully, Seymour explains Blake's imagery in the artist's terms, that is, as one of the six types of matter he identified – 'mineral' – and as 'experience' (sin) rather than 'innocence'.

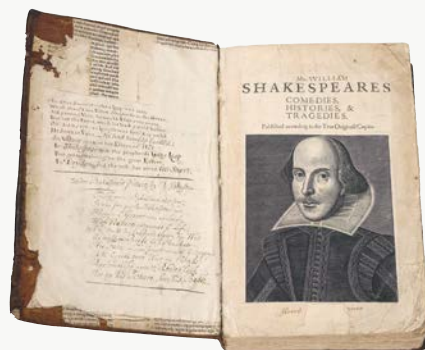
His book would have benefited from more contextualisation of this kind as it moves between millennia and continents, archaeology, history and art criticism. The author's tendency to cite the findings of scholars and archaeologists as though the reader is already familiar with them makes the book less accessible than it might have been. Still, the range of sources covered is impressive and there are some fascinating interpretations and details here. Another historian might merely discount Marco Polo's identification of Baghdad with Babylon but, as Seymour observes, his 13th-century account is of Babylon's heir, 'which in a sense Baghdad was'.

After the 1979 Iranian Revolution, the Iraqi government embarked upon a campaign to restore Babylon's monuments, partly as a means of deterring Islamic revolution in southern Iraq and countering Iran's decision to remove symbols of pre-Islamic heritage. The restoration work was a burdensome drain on resources and not always sympathetically done. But then Babylon has become what one might call a self-perpetuating metaphor for something that is at once attainable and out of reach.

If Seymour's book does one thing, it is to show that, far from preserving history for history's sake, we are ever trying to make it into something else.

Daisy Dunn

EXHIBITION



Marks of Genius

Weston Library,
Bodleian Libraries, Oxford
Runs until September 20th, 2015

IT IS HARD TO IMAGINE Oxford University bereft of books. But in the 1540s, during the Reformation, it lost its chief library as a result of Protestant zeal; the books were sold as waste to local tradesmen. The Bodleian, Oxford's principal library today, was founded in 1602 by Sir Thomas Bodley. A graduate of Oxford in the 1560s, who later served as an ambassador of Elizabeth I, Bodley eventually returned to Oxford a wealthy man and offered to collect the university a new library at his own expense: 'an act of genius', according to the current Bodley's Librarian, Richard Ovenden. Shortly after, Francis Bacon presented Bodley with a copy of his newly published *The Advancement of Learning*. Bacon's accompanying letter praised Bodley for 'having built an Ark to save learning from Deluge', while also implicitly issuing a challenge.

By the early 18th century the Bodleian was legally entitled to receive one copy of any new book published in the United Kingdom. Today its collections consist of more than 11 million printed items, in addition to 70,000 e-journals and vast quantities of materials in other formats. Besides being by far the largest library in the UK, the Bodleian is one of the world's great libraries. In the spring of this year – with the opening of the Weston Library, a major new Bodleian development costing some £80 million – the collections became available to researchers via facilities designed for the digital age and to the public via both permanent and changing exhibitions.

The inaugural exhibition, *Marks of Genius*, consists mainly of world-changing books and manuscripts from the collections, including maps, along with some paintings and sculpture.

Each work is displayed among a cornucopia of images stimulatingly contextualised by the exhibition's curator, Stephen Hebron, with occasional help from outside experts. The overall aim is to illuminate the ultimately indefinable – but indispensable – concept of genius across the humanities and sciences. 'If the various forms the character of genius has taken over the centuries have anything in common', observes Hebron in the exhibition catalogue, 'it is that they celebrate the variety and creativity of human beings.'

The books include one of the first books to appear in print: Pliny the Elder's *Historia Naturalis*, displayed in a beautifully illustrated translation from Latin into Italian, published in Venice in 1476. There are first editions of Vesalius' 1543 *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*, with its celebrated skeleton pondering Hamlet-like on the fate of a human skull, resting on a plinth with the Latin inscription *Vivitur ingenio, caetera mortis erunt* ('Genius lives on, all else is mortal'); of a 1623 Shakespeare *First Folio* (inset); and of Newton's 1687 *Principia Mathematica*. Manuscript works range from fragments of Greek poetry by Sappho on second-century AD Egyptian papyrus and Euclid's *Stoicheia* (Elements), the oldest manuscript of a classical Greek author to bear a date, completed in 888, through a 1741 conducting score of Handel's *Messiah*, with revisions by the composer, and Mary Shelley's draft of *Frankenstein* with corrections, revisions and additions by

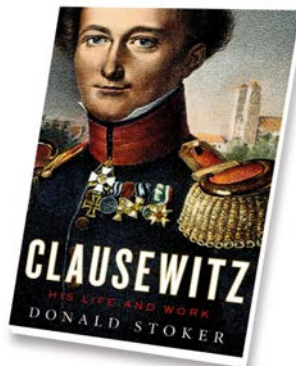
her poet-husband, written in 1816-17, to the neat 1907 manuscript of Kenneth Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows*, displayed alongside letters to his young son, known as Mouse, who first heard the adventures of Rat, Mole, Badger and Toad.

A surprise section, quite intriguing about genius, displays the frank remarks recorded on

reference cards by the Oxford University Careers Service in the 1920s-40s concerning certain students who later became famous. In 1943, the 20-year-old P. A. Larkin had got his first job as a librarian, was 'not satisfied with it' and 'would like to hear of other jobs of a literary type'. He was advised: 'stick to librarianship'. As Philip Larkin himself said in 1979: 'I could never have made a living from writing. If I'd tried in the Forties and Fifties I'd have been a heap of whitened bones long ago.' Whether or not Larkin counts as a genius is debatable; probably it is too soon to be sure. However, his comment is generally true: relatively few geniuses, whatever their posthumous reputations, make much money from what inspires and drives them. Just think of Mozart.

Andrew Robinson

**In the 1540s,
Oxford University
lost its library as a
result of Protestant
zeal; its books sold
as waste**



Clausewitz

His Life and Work

Donald Stoker

Oxford University Press 354pp £18.99

A GOOD, accessible biographic contextualisation of Clausewitz's writings has been long overdue. Peter Paret's *Clausewitz and the State* (2007) remains brilliant, but is mainly for a scholarly audience. Donald Stoker's book will please scholars and a wider public alike. Here is an academic reading the original German, when so many misguidedly think that texts written with a partly

obsolete vocabulary can be fully understood and explored in translations into English, that reflect the concerns of the Cold War, coloured by preoccupations with nuclear deterrence, pre-emption and American strategic failure in Vietnam.

Stoker surveys Clausewitz's life and thinking in the context of the Napoleonic Wars and the ensuing decade and a half of peace and of the political evolution of Prussia. He draws on all available sources: Clausewitz's correspondence, his *On War*, of course, but also his lesser-known works and his extensive campaign histories, which he wrote as an eyewitness. Stoker allows us to understand the development of Clausewitz's thinking and the events and commissions which resulted in his written works by placing the dry text against the colourful background of his life and times. Clausewitz was an ambitious officer from a family that had pretensions

to belong to the lesser nobility, but actually belonged more to lower middle-class society. His home was far removed from the urbane culture of the Prussian court to which he gained access thanks to his fond teacher and patron, General Gerhard von Scharnhorst, and his future wife, who came from the highest aristocracy. Clausewitz thus came a long way; his is an impressive social success story.

Stoker is no uncritical biographer. He confronts Clausewitz's unsavoury sides, the nastily antisemitic remarks, his ultra-nationalist outbursts, which later so pleased the Nazis, and his persistent complaints about his career. Given that, after its defeat at Jena and Auerstedt, Prussia had to let go of most of its generals and officers of lower ranks, that Clausewitz's brief career in the Russian army (1812-13) was hampered by his inability to speak Russian, that his defection was pardoned by the king, that his performance


at Waterloo was disappointing, that he was often on sick leave and that he still ended up as a general in a cushy position in Berlin, he really had no reason to complain. Yet in his correspondence with his two patrons, Scharnhorst and Field Marshal Count Neidhardt von Gneisenau, he was forever moaning about his respective jobs and begging them to help him find better postings and promotion; their fondness for him must have been severely tried.

Stoker's is a very human portrait of a man who was at once a genius, a brilliant analyst and a whinger, a thin-skinned melancholic, yet a merciless critic of others with bizarre mannerisms. We come away feeling we have met a fascinating man face to face, but not necessarily one we would have liked. That said, this helps us better to understand Clausewitz's great contribution to our understanding of war. This is no mean achievement.

Beatrice Heuser

MAGNA CARTA

THROUGH THE AGES



FREE EXHIBITION
 Society of Antiquaries of London
 26 May – 31 July (Mon - Fri)
 Museum Late: 19 June (Fri)
 Website: www.sal.org.uk

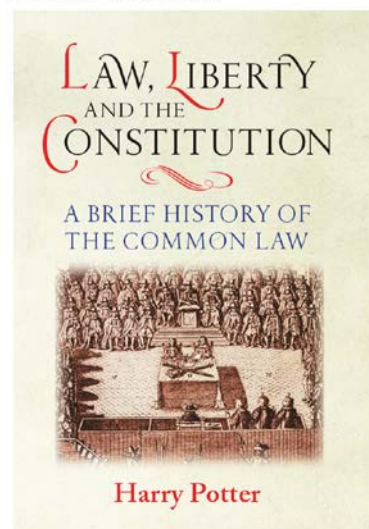
Supported by Bank of America Merrill Lynch, The Headley Trust, Heritage Lottery Fund, Magna Carta 800th Anniversary & the Ruddock Foundation for the Arts.

AVAILABLE NOW

Law, Liberty and the Constitution

A Brief History of the Common Law

HARRY POTTER



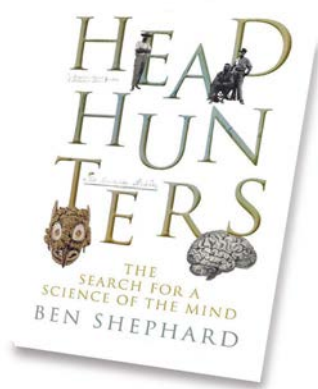
This unique, beautifully clear account of the history of English common law tells how it evolved from a means of ensuring order and limiting feuds to become a supremely sophisticated dispenser of justice and the primary guardian of civil liberties.

It's a fascinating journey from Anglo-Saxon England to the twentieth century, from trial by ordeal to jury, Magna Carta to Star Chamber, from the trial of Charles I to Nuremberg.

HARRY POTTER is a practising barrister specialising in criminal defence. He has also presented *The Strange Case of the Law* for BBC4. £25, hardback, 18 b/w illus.; 368pp, 978 1 78327 011 8, e-book 978 1 78204 523 6

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Head Hunters

The Search for a Science of the Mind

Ben Shephard

Bodley Head 323pp £25

HEAD HUNTERS begins with a journey. A group of young Cambridge scientists embarks on an expedition to the Australasian islands of the Torres Strait in 1898. They set out to study the anthropology and psychology of the locals to investigate if there was a difference between the brains and the intelligence of these 'natives', as they were then called, and 'civilised' men. At the heart of the expedition were William Halse Rivers, Charles Samuel Myers and William McDougall. There is intriguing detail about how they carried out their research, particularly Rivers, who, using pidgin English, explored what would now be called patterns of kinship with enquiries like: 'He married?' 'What name wife belong him?' 'Where he stop?' 'What piccaninny he got?' And so on until he

Scientists carried out their research using pidgin English: 'What name wife?', 'What piccaninny he got?'

had built up a complete genealogy of the islanders.

The book then follows the intellectual journey of these men as they explore their ideas about the brain and the human nervous system. Joining them is Grafton Elliot Smith, who, having studied the brains of mammals, becomes

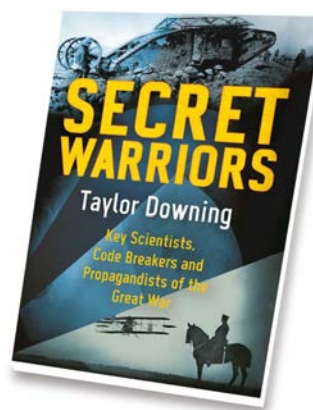
a prominent archaeologist and Egyptologist. Shephard introduces us to such diverse subjects as the attitude to 'race' at the heyday of Empire, early eugenics, the concept of 'diffusion' and psychic research. The book takes in Edwardian Oxford, with its heavy bias against new sciences like psychology, and more sympathetic environments at Cambridge, Manchester and London. Meanwhile, Rivers spends years studying the kinship structure of Melanesian society.

The journey ends in anticlimax. Most of the ideas of our core scientists are discredited. Myers sets up the National Institute for Industrial Psychology and struggles to make it work. McDougall moves to Harvard, where he falls out with American academia. Grafton Smith's ideas are totally rejected. Years of anthropological research by Rivers are condemned by one scholar as a 'complete waste of a good brain's time'. The study of race becomes cultural rather than biological.

Shephard claims the book is a 'character study, a group portrait of four men'. But as group biography *Head Hunters* is at its weakest. We never fully understand any of the central characters. The scientists have sudden and complete changes of direction. McDougall gets emotionally upset at one point but it is unclear why. Rivers suddenly departs from one island, leaving his assistant without explanation, and we are left speculating as to what happened.

It is in the realm of the intellectual journey that the book is at its best. Shephard follows the shaping of modern anthropology and psychology, taking in physiology and sociology along the way. All such sciences, like most human endeavours, develop along false trails, go up blind alleys and fall into seemingly bottomless pits. The heroes of one generation are the villains of the next. None of the four men at the centre of this book are particularly revered today, although all are remembered for their work in the First World War. But their story is one that will interest anyone looking to understand the development of scientific ideas in the first half of the last century.

Taylor Downing



Secret Warriors

Key Scientists, Code Breakers and Propagandists of the Great War

Taylor Downing

Little Brown 438pp £20

TAYLOR DOWNING is keen to dispel two misconceptions about the First World War. The first is that it was about ragged troops locked in a muddy stalemate on the Western Front. The second is that science contributed little more to the conflict than deadly explosives and poison gas.

Downing sets about highlighting the positive role that scientists played in the war, as they moved out of their back rooms to become 'secret warriors', providing blueprints and innovative ideas in the fields of aviation, intelligence and code breaking, engineering and gunnery, chemistry and medicine, as well as in the arcane arts of censorship and propaganda.

Such an *omnium gatherum* approach can seem superfluous when so much information is available on the Internet. However, Downing's easy style brings clarity to unrelated areas of the war, without forcing his readers along a chronological route march.

Three sections stand out. One is his even-handed depiction of the work of Room 40 in the Admiralty. This was the seat of the cryptanalysts who intercepted and deciphered German naval and diplomatic messages (they were the forerunners of Bletchley Park a quarter of a century later). He gives a solid account of the development

of the tank, where advances in fields such as armour plating and tracks came together under the Landships Committee at the Admiralty. His other stand-out chapter is about the psychologists and doctors who identified and treated shell shock, all the while having to fight those who felt that sufferers from such an affliction were shirkers, worthy of court martial, even execution.

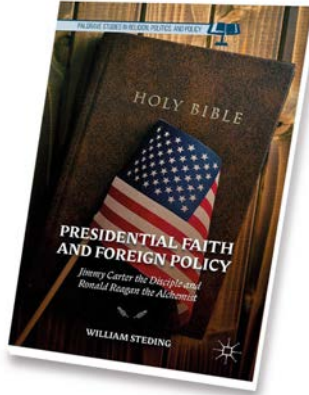
Downing clearly likes scientists and is not afraid to give them credit. His book starts with three scene-setting vignettes. One conveys the excitement of cutting the German deep-sea communication cables at the very start of the war; another the exhilaration of the first pilots in the Royal Flying Corps crossing the Channel in a new combat aircraft. The last chronicles a meeting of the Royal Society in November 1914 when, under the august chairmanship of Sir William Crookes, it established a War Committee, pledged to assist the government in all matters scientific.

As Downing acknowledges, these were generally exciting times for western science. Ernest Rutherford had recently mapped out the structure of the atom (and would soon go on to split it); new ideas about the mind were emerging from Sigmund Freud in Vienna and so on.

Nevertheless the scientist had little professional kudos (the word was hardly used) and even those who did acknowledge that title looked down on 'applied science'. However that 'gentleman and players' approach was changing, so a leading physiologist, such as Sir John Haldane in Oxford, for example, was now willing to use his knowledge of poisons and respiration to work for the improvement of industrial health in coal mines.

Although he makes little claim to original research, Downing has done well to thread together these disparate strands and bring a sense of the adventure of war to the life of the questing scientific mind.

Andrew Lycett



Presidential Faith and Foreign Policy

Jimmy Carter the Disciple and Ronald Reagan the Alchemist

William Steding

Palgrave Macmillan 304pp £66

THE AUTHOR'S INITIAL impetus for this book was to understand the role George W. Bush's religious beliefs played in his foreign policy decisions. However, soon realising that too many documents relevant to that exploration were still classified, he turned his attention to two presidents whose papers

were available, Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan, hoping to unravel their beliefs in divine purpose and what connection there was between their notion of God and the style and conduct of their international policy.

Steding is surely right to emphasise the importance of understanding the mindset a president brings to the momentous foreign policy decisions that are unavoidable for the occupant of the White House. Traces of the book's origins in a doctoral thesis are evident, such as calling these mindsets 'cognitive narratives' or 'cognetics'. Such jargon aside, the author succeeds in illuminating the way the presidents looked at the world. He makes the valid point that even historians who are interested in the values and beliefs of leaders tend to pass lightly over their religious convictions – clearly a mistake with Jimmy Carter and, perhaps less obviously, with Ronald Reagan.

Carter, a born-again Christian, was a Bible-class teacher

and ardent church-goer. Influenced by the 'Christian realism' of Reinhold Niebuhr, he was prepared to take a tough line with the Soviet Union. His religious beliefs, however, informed his emphasis on human rights, which he applied not only as a propaganda tool against Communism but to authoritarian (but pro-American) regimes in Latin America. Previous American presidents (as well as his successor, Reagan) tended to adopt a double standard when it came to right-wing authoritarians: 'He may be a bastard, but he's *our* bastard.'

Carter's Christianity underlay his stress on both peace and justice, especially his efforts in the Middle East, an area which had special significance for him, as he had been 'steeped in the Bible since early childhood'. Steding points out that Carter invested more political capital in the effort to bring Israelis and Palestinians together than could be explained by political advantage. Indeed, although he was

committed to the preservation of Israel, his advocacy of a homeland for Palestinians did him more harm than good domestically. He had at least a partial success in his effort to 'save the Holy Lands from violence and destruction' – the Camp David Accords that brought peace between Israel and Egypt.

Reagan's religious beliefs were more inchoate than Carter's. His mother made sure that he had a Christian church-going childhood, but in adulthood his contacts with men of the cloth were sporadic and owed something to political expediency. When in the early years of his presidency he was attacked by Catholic bishops for his military build-up and obduracy, he sent for the cavalry in the shape of conservative evangelists who could be relied upon to take a hard line against godless Communism. His famous description of the Soviet Union as an 'evil empire' came in a speech to the National Association of Evangelicals in 1983.

A residential symposium in Lincoln organised by Martin Randall Travel in association with *History Today*.

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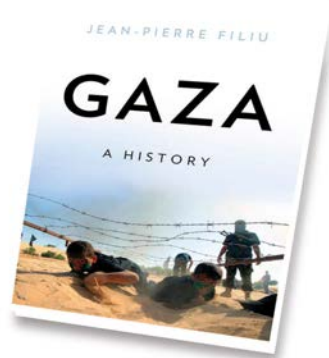
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However, Reagan's frequent invocation of God was not merely a rhetorical device. He really believed, especially after he recovered from the assassination attempt. He decided that God had saved him for a purpose. He also believed in Armageddon – fortunately, not in a fatalistic way. Rather, it was his mission to avoid or, at any rate, postpone it. Thus, his puzzling faith in the likely efficacy of SDI (an anti-ballistic missile system), which made agreement with the Soviet Union more difficult, went along with the belief that actual nuclear war would mean Armageddon.

On the need to rid the world of nuclear weapons, Reagan found a partner, Mikhail Gorbachev, who was even more committed to ending the Cold War than he was. Carter was less fortunate. His presidency wholly coincided with the conservative Communist gerontocracy led by Leonid Brezhnev. Reagan, after overlapping with three Soviet leaders with whom progress was zero, was lucky with his fourth – and he rode his luck.

Archie Brown



Gaza: A History

Jean-Pierre Filiu

Hurst 384pp £25

IN THE 1967 Six Day War Israel occupied the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the two districts so often mentioned in one breath as the 'Palestinian occupied territories'. However, the differences between the two districts are striking. While the Gaza Strip is small and isolated, the West Bank is 15 times larger and enjoys direct and

relatively open access to Jordan and beyond. While the West Bank has a larger population than the Gaza Strip, the Strip's smaller size, higher birth rate and lower rates of emigration makes its population density one of the highest in the world. Historically, politically and religiously the Gaza Strip is regarded as less important than the West Bank, which explains, in part, why the Strip is often referred to as 'the stepchild of the West Bank'.

Over the years there have been some daring schemes and political experiments in the Gaza Strip. Arguably the most notable was in September 1948, with the establishment of the All Palestine Government, the first attempt to

**Gaza: A History
is not an easy
read, but it is an
important study
... that fills a gap in
the literature**

set up an independent Palestinian state with Gaza City as its temporary capital. In 1987 the 'stepchild of the West Bank' again demonstrated its importance, when the first serious uprising against the Israeli occupation – the Intifada – erupted in Gaza's Jabaliya refugee camp. Later, in the 1990s, the Gaza Strip was the first – along with the tiny Jericho area of the West Bank – to be given self-rule in the context of the Oslo Accords between Israel and the Palestinians. In August 2005, again in the Gaza Strip, Israel's Prime Minister Ariel Sharon conducted his experiment of unilateral withdrawal, thus ending the physical presence of the Israeli army and settlements in occupied Palestinian lands. Finally, shortly after, Gazans – disappointed with the secular PLO – elected to power for the first time, the religious movement Hamas. Yet while the Gaza Strip has always been a crucible for change, there have been few books on the subject; Jean-Pierre Filiu's *Gaza: A History* fills a gap in the literature.

Filiu opens by looking at the long history of the area before it

became known (as of 1948) as the 'Gaza Strip' and one is taken aback by how much has happened there since ancient times: Gaza was fought over by the Pharaohs, the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Byzantines, the Arabs, the Fatimids, the Mamluks, the Crusaders and the Ottomans; Napoleon seized it in 1799 as a launch pad for his (failed) Palestine campaign. In the First World War the British army fought hard to conquer Gaza, before proceeding from there to Palestine.

Much of Filiu's book focuses on the modern Gaza Strip and, originally, divides his narrative into 'generations'. Thus, the first generation which lived in the Strip from 1948 to the year Israel seized the area in 1967 is dubbed 'the generation of mourning', who paved the way for 'the generation of dispossession', who lived in the Strip under Israeli occupation from 1967 to 1987. The latter generation then paved the way for the 'generation of the intifadas', mainly made up of young Palestinian refugees who went on to challenge the Israeli occupation.

In the concluding chapter, 'the Generation of Impasses?', Filiu diverts from his role as a historian to propose a 'virtuous trio', made up of three foundations which could help end the tragedy of Gaza. The first to open up the area by enabling it free access to the world; the second to develop the economy of the Gaza Strip; and the third to demilitarise Palestinian society. Gaza, Filiu asserts, and I strongly agree, cannot be simply ignored as 'it is in Gaza that the foundations of a durable peace should be laid' and the Strip 'lies at the heart of the nation building of contemporary Palestine'.

I have spent the last 30 years researching the Arab-Israeli conflict and I thought that I knew almost everything worth knowing about the region and the conflict, but it was a pleasant surprise to learn some new things from Filiu's book. *Gaza: A History* is not an easy read, as it is packed with information and details, but it is an important study which I strongly recommend.

Ahron Bregman

CONTRIBUTORS

Ahron Bregman is author of *Cursed Victory: A History of Israel and the Occupied Territories* (Allen Lane, 2014).

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Taylor Downing's books include *The World at War* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

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Letters

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The Other Bletchley

Writing about the *Churchill's Scientists* exhibition at the Science Museum (Reviews, April 2015), Taylor Downing notes the way in which giant radar systems were compressed, in a remarkably short space of time, into equipment small enough to be carried in an aircraft and able to detect U-Boats.

There is a major wartime story here, deserving to be re-told. It concerns the invention and development of airborne radar systems capable of spotting not just submarines and shipping, but also detecting approaching German night bombers far earlier than had previously been possible.

At the heart of it all were the team working with Sir Robert Watson-Watt at Bawdsey Manor, a Suffolk pile which was acquired by the Air Ministry for radar research as far back as 1936. A key figure in this team was Professor Robert Hanbury Brown (usually known as Hanbury). Without his work on the polarisation of radio waves both Coastal Command and our air defences would have been hopelessly weakened and ineffectual. Air Chief Marshal Lord Tedder thought Britain would lose the war without miniaturised radar.

Bawdsey Manor may have lacked the excitement of the much better known Bletchley Park, but the team there went through plenty of dramas. Churchill's visits to Bawdsey underscore how crucial the scientific work there was to the whole war effort. (The other person who was said to have had an eye on Bawdsey Manor was Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring, who was luckily unaware of its secrets or vital war importance, but apparently thought it would make a nice country pad for him once the conquest of England had been completed.)

Hanbury Brown died in 2002, disgracefully having received no recognition or honour whatsoever from the country he helped to save. Oddly, too, he seems to have been left out of the picture gallery in the Science Museum exhibition. But he is one more scientific war hero whose vital role awaits to be uncovered by today's diligent historians, along with the whole saga of Bawdsey Manor.

David Howell (Lord Howell of Guildford)
House of Lords, London SW1

Notes and Queries

Stephen Badsey ('A Muddy Vision of the Great War', May) is justified in criticising much of the TV coverage of the First World War and his criticisms could be extended across a range of historical programmes. Factual errors do creep in, though not all are as gross and important as claiming the British army lost 60,000 per day, every day of the war, when this was the maximum casualty list on the worst day of the war: 59,000 on the first day of the Battle of the Somme.

Such a mistake is easy to spot, but there are many more plausible errors which go uncorrected. Every year, for example, on April 23rd there are media commentaries across the globe celebrating Shakespeare's birthday. Yet we do not know when Shakespeare's birthday was. As with all children in the pre-modern period there are no birth certificates; only royal or aristocratic births are known precisely. For everyone else, if the records survive, it is the date of christening that is known. For Shakespeare, this is April 26th; his Wikipedia entry gets it right.

The desire to have England's national poet born on St George's Day made the facts irrelevant when Shakespeare's biography

was first constructed in the early 18th century. This opened the way to a host of other myths, notably the one which was the subject of Helen Hackett's *Shakespeare and Elizabeth: the Meeting of Two Myths* (Princeton, 2009), that Shakespeare and the queen met. There is no way that this could happen in the hierarchical society of the time, but the lack of evidence and understanding of Tudor society has long since overcome historical knowledge.

There is clearly a need for a modern encyclopaedia of historical misconceptions and how they can be addressed. Without a way to correct mistaken factual information, the vital database on which history depends will be damaged. It is time *History Today* had its own 'Notes and Queries'.

Trevor Fisher
Stafford

Fresh Fictions

There is one very odd thing about Minoo Dinshaw's article, 'The Familiar and the Fresh' (May): every one of the elements that he identifies as fresh in Steven Runciman's 1955 portrait of Richard the Lionheart was the product of a creative imagination and not one supported by a scrap of evidence. Runciman's assertions, that Richard suffered from sea-sickness, that he conquered Byzantine Cyprus 'without reflection', that his attempt to return from crusade incognito was motivated by his fear of Byzantine vengeance, that too many 'gay and vicious young men' were to be found at his court and that he had a 'hard, ungenerous mouth', are all inventions.

While Dinshaw accepts that the negative tones in what is called Runciman's 'nuanced and sensitive portrait' of the king were deeply coloured by the Byzantinist's regret that Richard had removed Cyprus from Greek rule, his choice of the adjective

'fresh' for its original features might lead an unwary reader into thinking that there is something to be said in favour of them.

John Gillingham
Brighton, East Sussex

Bruce Bonus

Concerning the account of the Crusades by Jonathan Phillips (May), it was an event at Acre during the Ninth Crusade (1269-72) – the death from disease of Adam of Kilconquhar, in Fife, in mid-1271 – which changed the course of Scottish and English history.

Adam was titular Earl of Carrick by reason of his marriage to Marjorie, Countess of Carrick. When a fellow crusader at Acre, Robert Bruce, son of the 5th Lord of Annandale, returned to Scotland in 1273, he called on the countess with news of her husband's death, the result was that in the summer of that year they were married, with their first child, also Robert Bruce, being born at Turnberry on July 11th, 1274. He was crowned as King of Scots at Scone on March 25/26th, 1306 and led the Scots to victory at Bannockburn on June 23rd/24th, 1314. Indeed, five sons or grandsons of the crusaders of Acre in 1271 fought at Bannockburn some 43 years later: Robert I, Edward Bruce and Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray on the Scots side; Edward II and Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester on the English side.

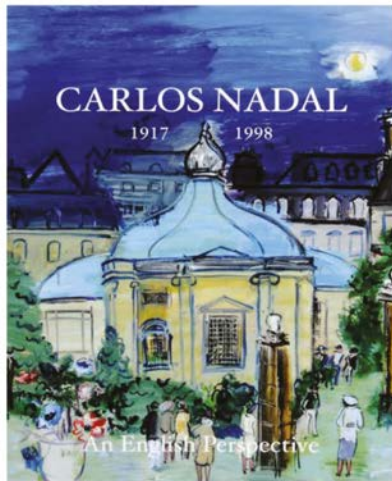
Sandy S. Waugh
Banchory, Kincardineshire

Airplane!

May I ask why *History Today* uses the Americanism 'airplane' rather than the English 'aeroplane'? (Months Past, May). The use of this rather ugly American word jolts the reader away from the natural flow of the text.

Michael Storry
via email

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TEXT: John Duncalle, foreword and edited by Dr Hilary Diaper, the University of Leeds

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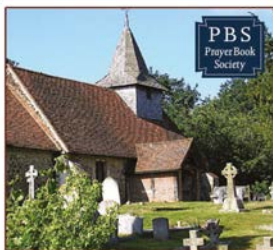
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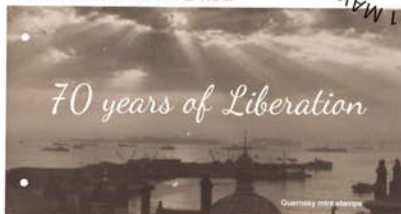
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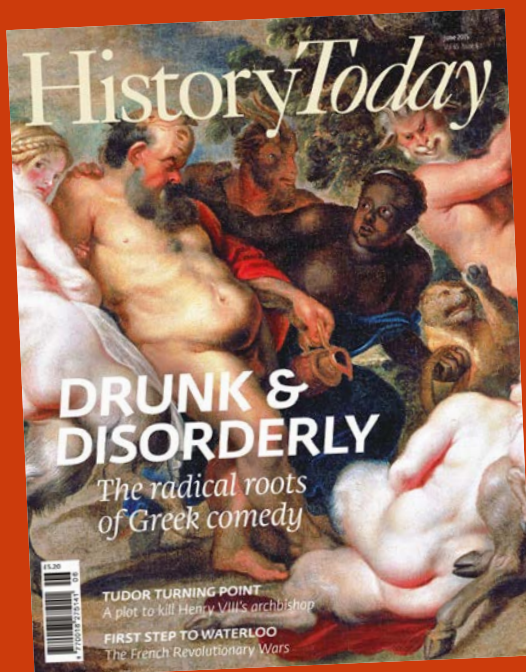
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April's Prize Crossword



The winner for April is J.M. Foxall, Birmingham.

Coming Next Month

Magna Carta Special

The Road to Runnymede

Henry II has a reputation as one of England's greatest monarchs, yet some historians have argued that, by 1199, he had bequeathed his sons, Richard I and King John, a country near 'breaking point' and well on the road to Magna Carta.

That, however, is not the case, argues Sean McGlynn. John's reputation as a stay-at-home king who extorted his subjects and commoditised justice meant he alone was the Charter's 'feckless father'.



The Transatlantic Influence

Perhaps nowhere is Magna Carta more revered today than in the United States. The explanation, argues Alexander Lock, is to be found in the Charter's influence on the ideals of the early-17th century British colonists, who sought to extend the 'lawes and liberties' of England to America, and in the country's most important founding documents, the Declaration of Independence and Bill of Rights.

Simon de Montfort and the Origins of Parliament

Magna Carta was the first of two key developments that signalled the emergence during the 13th century of the idea of popular consent in government. The second was Earl Simon de Montfort's summoning of town representatives to parliament in 1265. Nigel Saul explains how this milestone in the history of parliamentary representation was a response to the needs of the moment, rather than a consequence of grand design.

The Artist and the King

The anniversary of Magna Carta provides an opportunity to look again at the career of the artist Charles Sims (1873-1928), whose commissioned mural depicting King John sealing the Charter, on display at St Stephen's Hall in Westminster since 1927, is both a cinematic portrayal of the events at Runnymede and an expression of the artist's own tragic circumstances, says Graham E. Seel.

Plus Months Past, Making History, Signposts, Reviews, In Focus, From the Archive, Pastimes and much more.

The July issue of *History Today* will be on sale throughout the UK on June 18th. Ask your newsagent to reserve you a copy.

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PASTIMES

Amusement & Enlightenment

The Quiz

1 Which European head of state reportedly declared 'Latin America is our goal' in 1903?

2 The Allied bombing of Dresden in February 1945 is the central event in which novel by Kurt Vonnegut, published in 1969?

3 By what nickname was Hỏa Lò Prison, Hanoi, known by American prisoners during the Vietnam War?

4 The Treaty of Stettin ended which war on December 13th, 1570?

5 Popular across the Muslim world following the Islamic conquest of Persia (633-44), what is the modern incarnation of Shatranj?

6 Who was the first Astronomer Royal?

7 What was the first town in the world to be lit by electricity generated by nuclear power?

8 Which territory was united with Romania on December 1st, 1918?

9 What did Zahir-ud-din Muhammad Bubur found in 1526?

10 By what name is the First Reich better known?

11 At which battle of 1866 were Captain William J. Fetterman and 81 US soldiers defeated by a Native American alliance?

12 Which Ottoman Sultan conquered Egypt, Syria and Hijaz during the Ottoman-Mamluk Wars (1516-17)?

13 The Schnäbele Affair of April 1887 almost precipitated conflict between which two European countries?

14 Which pioneer of women's education became the first headmistress of the North London Collegiate School for Girls in 1850?

15 Who designed the 'cloudbuster' in 1951?



16 With what profession did Lillian Leitzel (1892-1931) rise to fame?

17 The earliest known observation of what phenomena was recorded by Chinese astronomer Gan De in a star catalogue produced in 364 BC?

18 Self-published in 1906, what popular board game did Elizabeth Magie's *The Landlord's Game* inspire?

19 What name was given to anti-Chinese riots on the Burrangong goldfields in New South Wales during the early 1860s?

20 Which Communist dictator, known for his patronage of national cinema, was the subject of the 2011 documentary *Cinema Komunisto*?

21 Which former French territory does the flag below represent?



22 Who, in 1229, became the Mongol Empire's Great Khan after the death of Genghis Khan?

23 Known as the 'Hungarian Suicide Song', 'Gloomy Sunday' was composed by who in 1933?

24 For how long did the Danish king Sweyn Forkbeard (c.960-1014) rule England?

25 The life of which historical figure associated with the Salem witch trials was fictionalised in an 1986 novel by Maryse Condé?



1. Kaiser Wilhelm II (1859-1941).
2. Slaughterhouse-Five.
3. The Hanoi Hilton.
4. The Northern Seven Years' War.
5. Chess.
6. John Flamsteed (1646-1719).
7. Arco, Idaho in 1955.
8. Transylvania.
9. The Mughal Empire.
10. The Holy Roman Empire.
11. The Fetterman Massacre.
12. Selim I (c.1467-1520).
13. France and Germany.
14. Frances Mary Buss (1827-1894).
15. Wilhelm Reich (1897-1957).
16. Acrobat and strongwoman for Ringling Brothers and Barnum and Bailey Circus.
17. Sunspots.
18. Monopoly.
19. The Lambing Flat Riots.
20. Josip Broz Tito (1892-1980).
21. Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso).
22. Ögedei Khan (c.1186-1241).
23. Rezső Seress (1899-1968).
24. Five weeks.
25. Tituba in *I, Tituba, Black Witch of Salem*.

ANSWERS

Prize Crossword

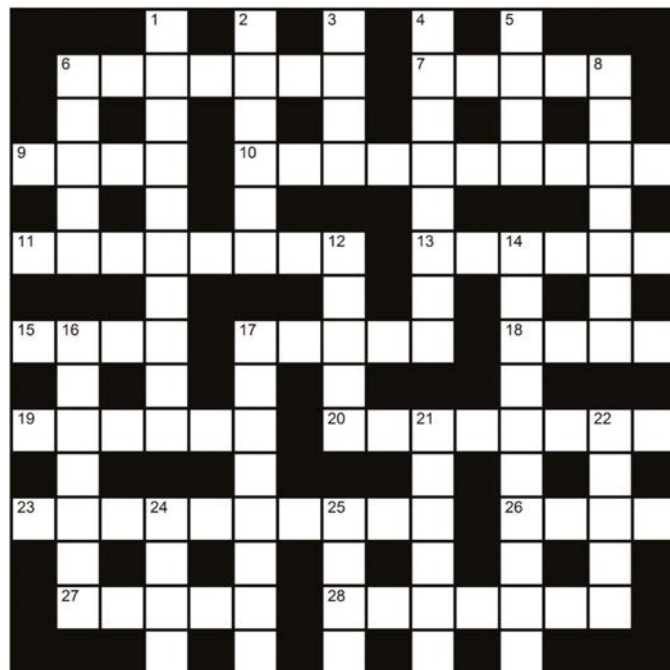
Set by Richard Smyth

ACROSS

- 6** Aberdeenshire village, site of a castle constructed in 1628 by John Erskine, 18th Earl of Mar (7)
7 Joe ____ (1914-81), US heavyweight known as the 'Brown Bomber' (5)
9 American Indian people of Canada's Northwestern Territories (4)
10 1994 historical work by David Remnick, subtitled *The Last Days Of The Soviet Empire* (6,4)
11 'There are no ____ in the foxholes' – W.T. Cummings, 1943 (8)
13 Seventh-century king of Kent, son of Ecgbert I (6)
15 Minor prophet of the Old Testament (4)
17 Edward ____ (d.1854), London zoo proprietor (5)
18 20th-century nickname for a member of the Women's Royal Naval Service (4)
19 ____ Thule, the farthest extremity of the world in medieval geography (6)
20 Historical French duchy of which the capital was Nancy (8)
23 Butterfly associated with the 1881 assassination of Tsar Alexander II (3,7)
26 Legendary founder-queen of Carthage (4)
27 Industrial city on the Ruhr, heavily bombed during the Second World War (5)
28 Oxfordshire town that served as a base of operations for Oliver Cromwell during the Civil Wars (7)

DOWN

- 1** Ignacy Jan ____ (1860-1941), pianist, composer, and prime minister of Poland (10)
2 'There's daggers in men's ____' – *Macbeth*, Act 2 Scene 3 (6)
3 Metallic element associated with Wellington, Bismarck and Thatcher (4)
4 Michael ____ (1922-75), singer and lyricist known for his partnership with Donald Swann (8)
5 *Charley's ____*, 1892 play by Brandon Thomas (4)
6 North Sea oilfield discovered in 1971 (5)
8 ____ Wars, series of fourth and third-century territorial conflicts in Italy (7)
12 Groom of the Stool, title held at the court of Henry VIII by Henry Norris (5)
14 Condition of George Orwell in Paris and London (4,3,3)
16 *The ____ Falcon*, 1929 detective novel by Dashiell Hammett (7)
17 Robert the ____, name by which Robert de Brus (d.1295) was known (8)
21 Legendary Frankish prefect of the eighth century (6)
22 Character created by Enid Blyton (1897-1968) (5)
24 Dannie ____ (1923-2014), Welsh doctor and poet (4)
25 Jack ____ (1911-1967), murderer of Lee Harvey Oswald (4)



The winner of this month's prize crossword will receive a selection of recent history books



HT Entries to: Crossword, History Today, 2nd Floor, 9 Staple Inn, London WC1V 7QH by June 30th or www.historytoday.com/crossword

SIX DEGREES OF SEPARATION

Thomas 'Stonewall' Jackson

Thomas 'Stonewall' Jackson (1824-63)

Confederate general in the American Civil War is depicted on a stained glass window in Washington National Cathedral, as is ...

Andrew Carnegie (1835-1919)

Scottish-American industrialist and philanthropist, whose Carnegie Endowment for international peace helped promote the Kellogg-Briand Pact, co-written by ...

Aristide Briand (1862-1932)

French statesman, prime minister and recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, who had an affair with ...



Princess Marie Bonaparte (1882-1962)

great-grandniece of Napoleon I and a patient and follower of ...

Sigmund Freud (1856-1939)

Austrian neurologist and father of psychoanalysis, who learnt Spanish specifically so that he could read the work of ...

Miguel de Cervantes (1547-1616)

Spanish novelist, poet and playwright who lost the use of his arm in battle, as did ...

By STEPHANIE POLLARD and JUSTIN POLLARD

From the Archive

Andrew Roberts is both entertained and stimulated by Felix Markham's 1963 article on Napoleon, which made judicious use of what correspondence was then available.

The Emperor Distilled

ALTHOUGH IT WAS written over half a century ago, Felix Markham's article 'The Emperor at Work' holds up remarkably well, both as an insight into Napoleon Bonaparte's personality and as an immensely entertaining piece of writing. Markham was a history don at Hertford College, Oxford between 1931 and 1973 and his article represented a distillation of his knowledge and opinions derived from over three decades of reading and teaching about the emperor. The sources he used are therefore widespread, illuminating and judiciously chosen.

Since 2004 the Fondation Napoléon in Paris has been publishing the 33,000 letters that Napoleon signed during his lifetime, an invaluable source that Markham, who died in 1992, could not use. However, he did trawl impressively through the 32 volumes of correspondence that were published in the reign of Napoleon III (r. 1852-70). Many of the traits that Markham noted in Napoleon – especially his capacity for hard work and his superb sense of humour – have been even further enhanced by the Fondation's modern volumes.

Markham can perhaps be criticised for taking at face value the strictures against Napoleon made by his private secretary Antoine de Bourrienne, who is reported as saying that the emperor told him: 'Friendship is only a word; I care for nobody.' Bourrienne was bitter that his former boss had been forced to sack him twice for gross speculation. In fact Napoleon had plenty of friends – later in his piece Markham lists Generals Lannes, Desaix, Junot, Bessières and Duroc among them – although almost all of them died in battle. (Duroc didn't die at the battle

of Bautzen, as Markham stated, but at Reichenbach the following day.)

Nor is Markham right in stating that Napoleon was 'a relatively small man'. At 5ft 5ins – exactly my height – he was the average size for a Frenchman of his day. The reason we imagine him a midget was because he was unfortunate enough to be the contemporary of the greatest British political caricaturists of all time – including George Cruikshank, Thomas



Markham is particularly good on the relations between Napoleon and his family

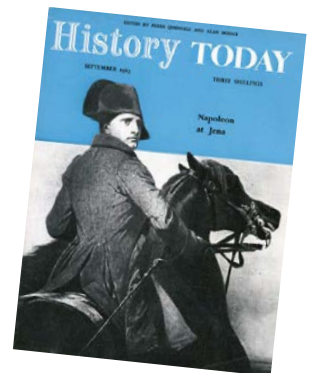
Rowlandson and James Gillray – who universally portrayed him as dwarfish beside his enemies. (When I visited Longwood House on St Helena while filming a BBC TV series to be broadcast this spring, I took the opportunity to lie down on Napoleon's deathbed, which was precisely the right size.)

Markham is particularly good on the relations between Napoleon and his family. He puts Napoleon's nepotism down to 'a persisting trait of his Corsican origin', which seems unfair considering that it was also practiced by every royal and aristocratic house of the day and had been for centuries. With two important exceptions – Lucien's cool-headed assistance during the Brumaire military coup of 1799 and Jerome's bravery at Waterloo 16 years later – Napoleon's siblings were rarely anything other than an incubus. Made into princes, dukes and, in three cases, kings, his brothers were ungrateful, incompetent and, in King Louis of Holland's case, downright treacherous (as also was their sister Queen Caroline of

Naples, a treachery Markham rightly denounced as 'squalid and disastrous').

There have been more books written about Napoleon than there have been days since his death; certainly no end seems to be in sight. It was thus a huge achievement for Markham to have written a biography so long ago – of which his *History Today* article was the trailer – that still ranks in their forefront. He was the historical adviser for Stanley Kubrick's tragically never-made biopic of Napoleon, a project so enormous no Hollywood studio would finance it, despite Audrey Hepburn being touted to play Josephine. Kubrick and Markham nevertheless spent many hours discussing Napoleon and their fascinating conversations can be read in transcript form at the London College of Communication. There seems to have been a curse on any actor playing Napoleon successfully since Albert Dieudonné in Abel Gance's 1927 masterpiece, other than perhaps Herbert Lom in the 1956 version of *War and Peace*. Maybe his personality was just too big, even for the silver screen.

Andrew Roberts' *Napoleon the Great* was published in paperback by Penguin in April 2015.



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